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JOSEPH ESTLIN CARPENTER

A Memorial Volume

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JOSEPH ESTLIN CARPENTER

A MEMORIAL VOLUME

Edited by

C. H. HERFORD

Including

A MEMOIR BY THE EDITOR AND
CHAPTERS BY J. H. WEATHERALL
A. S. PEAKE AND L. R. FARNELL

OXFORD
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PREFACE

THE present volume is an attempt to put on record the career of a man who, little known to the English public, filled a large space in the affection and reverence of the religious body in which, throughout the latter half of a long life, he was a leading figure; and whose work as a scholar, in the three vast fields of the Old and New Testament, Buddhism, and Comparative Religion, left a deep and definite impress upon each. To deal adequately with Carpenter's work in all these fields was beyond the power of any single scholar. The Editor has been fortunate in securing the willing co-operation of two distinguished specialists, Dr. A. S. Peake and Dr. Farnell, late Rector of Exeter College, Oxford. He is also indebted to two intimate friends of Carpenter, the Rev. J. H. Weatherall and the Rev. Copeland Bowie; to the former for the chapter of personal reminiscences (Chap. II); to the latter for providing the materials on which the account of Carpenter's denominational and international activities (Chap. III) has been based. For the Memoir the Editor alone is responsible. But it would not have been possible without the aid both of a number of Carpenter's private note-books, kindly lent by Mrs. Carpenter, and of a mass of letters by and to him, for the former of which grateful thanks are here tendered to the lenders. The Bibliography is the work of the Rev. R. V. Holt, Librarian of Manchester College. To the Rev. V. D. Davis, of Bournemouth, the volume

as a whole is deeply indebted, both for counsel, criticism, and editorial help, as well as for scrupulous care in the reading of proofs. Sir F. Younghusband has kindly permitted the use of the passage quoted at the opening of the Memoir.

The Editor would express, finally, to Mrs. Carpenter his grateful sense of the high privilege which she conferred upon him when she asked him to undertake this work.

C. H. H.

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Their real presence, their spiritual presence, we may make ourselves feel to-day, and whenever we will. And a sustained effort to feel it will be our best memorial to them. We may do much more than only remember them. We can experience for ourselves their ambitions and hopes and aspirations; we can think again their thoughts and ideas; we can wish again their most ardent desires; we can live as they would have had us live; till we shall feel them still living in us, and through us still carrying on the work they had so strenuously set their hearts upon.

SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND.

I. MEMOIR

I

EARLY YEARS

JOSEPH ESTLIN CARPENTER came of a family which had for two generations been distinguished by a union of high intellectual quality, devoted energy in social service, and deep religious convictions. His grandfather, Dr. Lant Carpenter, had been Unitarian minister at Exeter, but removed, in 1817, during his children's infancy, to Bristol to be minister of the Lewin's Mead Meeting. But his conception of citizenship went far beyond what was then common in any denomination of Christians. He instituted schools to supplement his congregational work; like his older contemporary William Turner, the Unitarian minister of Newcastle-on-Tyne, he took a prominent part in founding the local Literary and Philosophical Institution; he was an ardent promoter of Catholic Emancipation and Reform. His wife, too, says her grandson, was a woman of unusual endowments of head and heart, who fully shared the austere and high view of life characteristic of her Puritan ancestry.

William, Estlin's father, was their fourth child and eldest son. He was born at Exeter, but had come to Bristol as a child of four, and his boyhood was moulded by the powerful influences of the Bristol home. Of his other children, Mary took a part still well remembered among the beneficent workers of her country and especially for India; her nephew Estlin stood till her death in the closest intimacy with her, and afterwards wrote her biography (1878). Of the other sons, Russell

and Philip became ministers like their father; Philip bore the unmistakable family stamp of the apostolate, and laboured outside his pastoral duties both in social service and in conchological research. With Russell, minister for many years at Bridport, Estlin carried on after his own settlement at Leeds until his death, a long and affectionate correspondence.

William, Estlin's father, was destined to become one of the most illustrious representatives of physiology in the mid-nineteenth century. In 1845, after studying and lecturing at Edinburgh and Bristol, he was appointed Fullerian professor of Physiology in the Royal Institution. His pronounced Unitarianism twice prevented his election, though supported by the whole Faculty, to the Chair of Medicine at Edinburgh. London henceforth became his home; he lived at first near Regent's Park, then, after his appointment in 1852 to the Principalship of University Hall, at that Hall in Gordon Square, finally, from 1856 onward, in a house on Primrose Hill.

Estlin, his second son, was born on October 5, 1844, in a scene curiously alien in its associations from the family traditions and genius, his father having accepted the charge of instructing the children of Lord Lovelace, son-in-law of Lady Byron, at Ripley in Surrey. The young professor was ill at ease in this unfamiliar *milieu*, and found the aristocratic society of Ripley no compensation for the absence of his scientific friends and colleagues. But stronger even than scientific interest was the hold upon him of the old Chapel at Lewin's Mead where his father had ministered, and where he had worshipped from childhood. 'I feel the loss of public worship', he wrote to his brother Russell in December 1844, two months after Estlin's birth, 'more than any other kind of inconvenience of my situation here. I have a most particular attachment to Lewin's Mead, and to the worship as there conducted;

and you can scarcely think how strong is my yearning to be at my old post.' [1]

Lewin's Mead could not be carried to London; but two beloved features of his Bristol home continued to be the indispensable companions of his various homes in London: the organ, playfully called 'Dagon', and the microscope. In this atmosphere of pronounced human and social interest, devout religion and indefatigable scientific zeal, the boy grew up. Temperance was the rule of the household, supported with all his recognized mastery of physiological facts by the father in an essay of 1849, for which a prize of 100 guineas was awarded. These years were perhaps the busiest in his busy life, and his family often saw little of him. His day began at six and only ended at midnight. But intercourse with friends never ceased, and London brought many important new acquaintances. More especially after his appointment as Principal of University Hall, in 1852. There the great physiologist conducted classes on the Greek Testament on Sunday mornings. To provide the students with larger social opportunities he organized, with his wife's help, soirées in the spacious Council Room and Library. In 1856, he was appointed to the important post of Registrar of the University, a capacity in which he contributed immensely to its efficiency. To the exacting labours of this post he devoted himself from 1856 exclusively, removing then to the house on Primrose Hill, which for a quarter of a century became the family home. Here Estlin's school time at University College School was spent, and the vacations of the subsequent years (1860–6) when, as a student of University College and Manchester New College, he resided at University Hall. One of the few now living who knew him in boyhood, the former President of Magdalen

[1] Memorial Sketch, by J. Estlin Carpenter, prefixed to his edition of his father's Essays: *Nature and Man*, p. 33.

College, Oxford, Sir Herbert Warren, remembers him (at 14–16) as 'the big boy, already full of promise of distinction, and very kind to us [juniors]'. His early prowess in college studies is sufficiently attested by his gaining a Hibbert scholarship (1863–6), and by the brilliant degree, as Master of Arts, awarded to him by London University at the end.[1] One who entered University College three years later than he, and was probably when he died, on 9 June 1927, the only survivor among his fellow-students there, the Rev. J. Collins Odgers, recalls him as an older fellow-resident in the Hall, whom he met chiefly at lectures and in the 'Shakespeare' and other student-societies. 'We all knew him', he writes, 'as a most strenuous and efficient worker, maintaining kindly relations with each one. I remember him once helping me in my private studies when I was unable to cope with a trigonometrical problem. He always commanded the respect and regard of the other students, both lay and theological.' In other words, Estlin as student, to judge by all available evidence, anticipated in every significant feature Estlin the man. Strenuous and helpful, keen in study, but no less ready to put his knowledge and his time at the service of his fellows, what he became on the larger stage of the preacher and the scholar, Estlin already was on the small scale of studentship.

Among his other fellow-students was his lifelong comrade in learning, religion, and social labours, Philip Henry Wicksteed. And the exceptional privileges of his early manhood included not only his home and the father whose grave yet impassioned genius pervaded its life, but the many notable friends of his father who frequented it. Here were to be met, besides leaders in the medical world like James Paget, and great botanists like Hooker, Robert Chambers of Edin-

[1] He was second in Mental and Moral Philosophy, with marks entitling him to the gold medal.

burgh, whose *Vestiges of Creation*, once unfavourably reviewed by Carpenter, had suggested the evolutionary ideas of *In Memoriam*, and prepared more definitely than his critic's own work for the advent of Darwin. Here came the spiritual-minded Alexander John Scott, later first Principal of the Owens College, Manchester. Here Francis Newman, professor of Latin at University College, whose books on *The Soul her Sorrows and her Aspirations* (1849) and *Theism* (1858) expounded in noble if difficult language an austere theism more akin to that of James Martineau than to the then current Unitarianism. Here also, after the removal of Manchester College to London in 1853, came naturally the professor of philosophy, Martineau himself, and the Principal, John James Tayler. And there would be echoes of the vehement fiery talk of Carlyle, whom Dr. Carpenter and Francis Newman met at Lord Ashburnham's; the fierce intolerant Carlyle of the sixties, who horrified Newman by defending Calvin's burning of the Unitarian Servetus, but who could be lured, in calmer moments, by the fascinating marvels of Carpenter's microscope, where the company was once privileged to see a hair, symbolically knobby and rough, of the great Scot himself.

Intellectual stimulus could never be wanting in a home thus in constant touch with so many of the distinguished minds of the capital. What the growing mind of Estlin derived from it, how far it took the colour or felt the spell of passing admirations, of casual interests and preoccupations, cannot now be determined. But if we may judge from the beautiful harmony which makes the course of his long life comparable to a symphony of slowly gathering richness and complexity but in a single key, the formative influence, quiet and unobtrusive but powerful beyond any other, was just the home in which he grew up, but which, in a deep sense he never outgrew; a home where an

atmosphere at once intellectual and spiritual, intimately domestic but quick with social sympathy, was diffused spontaneously by the personalities of both parents, and breathed from the first by the son who gave to both the devoted loyalty which later he brought, as it were by instinct, into all the relations of life. The organ that never ceased to refresh his father's leisure, symbolized the sustained harmony that pervaded the home, as the microscope, the instrument of his work no less indefatigably employed, symbolized the temper of scientific precision, veracity and honesty, which controlled and inspired it.

One of the few glimpses of his boyhood is given in a letter to his grandmother at Clifton, in September 1855. The boy of eleven had been taken by his father with his brother Willy, to the meeting of the British Association at Greenock. During the tour they stayed at Arran, a regular summer resort of Dr. Carpenter with his family. Estlin retails to his grandmother in a formal, precise, and well-educated style how the two boys 'took a walk up our Glen [Rosa], meaning if possible to ascend the hills at the end'. But 'it was very difficult, for it was so steep as to make us obliged to crawl on our hands and knees'.

In pursuance of his plan of entering the Unitarian ministry, Estlin, after graduation (1863), entered upon his three years' theological course at Manchester College then housed in University Hall. He found in his fellow students an unusually remarkable set of men. Philip Wicksteed, Carpenter's lifelong friend and comrade, never ceased to the end of his long life, to describe with glowing enthusiasm the gifts and character of his college contemporaries. 'It was lovely', writes his daughter Dora (Mrs. Kuenen), to Mrs. Carpenter, 'to hear father talk about them (his contemporaries) when they were all together at college; he used to do so often during the last years, and as he

enumerated them you thought what a splendid contribution to the world that circle of friends was, and how wonderfully they kept in touch with each other during their later lives too. They have left a wonderful tradition behind them, and there are things they won for the intellectual and moral world so completely that they will not need to be fought for again by the younger men; they can build upon them and go on further.' In this group, Carpenter and Wicksteed themselves, with Edwin Odgers, who never achieved what his great powers promised, as a third, were doubtless the most remarkable; but they were the foremost members of a republic, not giants in a mediocre crowd.

Estlin began his studies in theology and the problems of religion at a moment stormy enough for those concerned with such studies. Darwin's great book had appeared when he was fifteen, and the early sixties saw the fermentation of enthusiasm or anger stirred throughout the English world by the doctrine of evolution. In 1864, Carpenter's twentieth year, came the memorable duel at the Oxford British Association meeting between biological science and 'revealed' religion in the persons of Huxley and Wilberforce. His father, naturalist and devout theist at once, found no difficulty in reconciling his science with his religion; evolution was a part of the divine scheme of creation; he merely refused to allow so large a share in the process to 'Natural Selection' as Darwin postulated.

It is unlikely that a conception, however revolutionary, which was thus easily accommodated to the religion of the father, produced any disturbance in the religion of the son. He did not indeed escape, as a student, the experience of having sharply antagonistic systems of thought presented to him by his several teachers. At University College reigned the teaching of Alexander Bain, founded on the sensationalism of Hume and Mill; at the ministerial college Martineau

expounded a philosophy rooted in the idealism of Plato. Such contrasts in philosophic theory might easily have set going in a reflective student one of those crises of 'doubt' or negation which few young men of intellectual quality and character escape. Carlyle, wrestling with the Everlasting No in Leith Walk; Wordsworth, a nature far more akin to his own, giving up all moral questions in despair under the incubus of Godwin; these have many echoes in the early experiences of more ordinary minds. To find evidence in the apparently even harmony of Estlin Carpenter's mental growth of a crisis in any way approaching or resembling these is nevertheless unexpected. Of even temporary doubt or unbelief he apparently had no experience whatever. The simple Unitarian faith of his boyhood seems never to have flagged. The spiritual theism which Martineau won by a complex evolution was in its elements his by instinct. But he did undergo, during the formative years of his studentship, a long period in which, without any intellectual process so defined as denial or doubt, his religious faith was paralysed and his religious emotion struck dumb. It was a period, he wrote, long after, 'not of doubt, but of moral and spiritual barrenness, which oppressed me so painfully that I thought of relinquishing my college work and suspending my preparation for the ministry altogether'. It may be that the wholly secular and imaginatively barren teaching of Alexander Bain played a part analogous to that of Godwin with Wordsworth, in thus paralysing temporarily the finer apprehension of one born to better and greater things. In any case the awakening from this stupor had analogies with that of Wordsworth, however unlike it may have been to the complex and gradual process of that 'recovery' so wonderfully described in *The Prelude*.

'There is a valley in Wales', he wrote to his wife, not long after their marriage, 'which has associations

with my religious thoughts and feelings of an altogether peculiar kind. It was there that my real religious life began, with the unveiling of the Father's presence which brought to me infinite happiness and security. Such times have sometimes come to me since in a less degree, but the memory of that hour has been an ever-present comfort, and has helped me to wait until fresh communion was opened to me again.'

A fuller account of this experience, so vital in his spiritual history, was given to a friend, an ex-student of the College, who had poured scorn on a religion based upon 'feeling', and deprecated the insistence on religious experience without reasoning. Estlin urged the impossibility of postponing 'religion' until all contradictions were solved, and related the crucial 'experience' which had been the foundation of his own religion, as already told. This letter was written twenty years after the original experience which it recounts; such was the quiet stability of Carpenter's spiritual nature.

'I was in a condition of religious apathy for a long time when I was at M.N.C. I had no intellectual doubts: I do not think I am able to enter into them: that means perhaps that I had not widely departed from the philosophy in which I was trained. But though I had no doubts, I had no religion. I had no sense of personal relationship to God. I thought that I ought to leave the college, for services were a weariness to me. I never wished particularly to pray. I hoped that if I went for a time to work in some way among the poor and the ignorant, my religion might in some way be renewed in me. It was brought about not in that way. Dr. Martineau persuaded me to wait in the College, and one summer I went to stay with Wicksteed at his father's house in North Wales. Shall I tell you what happened to me? Well, I shall not see you smile, and I have no secrets from you. You know how to respect confidences. I went out one afternoon for a walk alone. I was in the empty unthinking state in which one saunters along country lanes, simply yielding oneself to the casual sights around which give a town-bred lad

with country yearnings such intense delight. Suddenly I became conscious of the presence of some one else. I cannot describe it, but I felt that I had as direct a perception of the being of God all round about me as I have of you when we are together. It was no longer a matter of inference, it was an immediate act of spiritual (or whatever adjective you like to employ) apprehension. It came unsought, absolutely unexpectedly. I remember the wonderful transfiguration of the far-off woods and hills as they seemed to blend in the infinite being with which I was thus brought into relation. This experience did not last long. But it sufficed to change all my feeling. I had not found God because I had never looked for him. But he had found me; he had, I could not but believe, made himself personally known to me. I had not gone in search of a satisfying emotion, I did not work myself up into this state by any artificial means. But I felt that God had come to me, I could now not only believe in him with my mind, but love him with my heart. I cannot tell you how often this has come back to me both with thankfulness and with humiliation. . . . I am often perplexed to know why such revealings do not come to other souls. But I cannot regard this as a mere piece of romanticism, though I shall not be surprised or offended if you do. This event has never happened to me again . . . It was not necessary. The sense of a direct relation to God then generated in my soul has become a part of my habitual thought and feeling.'

'You will see', he added, 'why I am a believer (after my fashion, not Paul's nor Calvin's) in election. There are some things which when a man has grasped them he cannot let them go.'

This was Carpenter's final comment. For him it was really final; a conclusion which needed no further question and admitted of none. The philosophic critic, the student of religious psychology, even the theologian, will doubtless feel that Carpenter's experience, however momentous for him, cannot be exempted from the questions raised by every seeming manifestation of God, more especially when it is made 'once and only once and to one only'. But for the present purpose these questions are irrelevant. It is

enough that such a vision, experienced by Carpenter about his twentieth year, became the enduring foundation of his religious life.

> Thus feeling comes in aid
> Of feeling, and diversity of strength
> Attends us, if but once we have been strong,

wrote Wordsworth in one of the inspired passages of *The Prelude*, and the resemblance between the kind of experience through which Wordsworth had reached his faith in 'the indwelling Spirit of God' and that supreme experience of his own, created between them a bond of spiritual comradeship which remained the secret of his own heart but which was never impaired or effaced, and which those who listened to him as he read the great passages, or saw his irradiated face when the glory of the mountains recalled the communion he then had first known, instinctively divined.

II

CLIFTON

IN June 1866 Estlin left College. In the following autumn he settled at Clifton, as minister of the recently opened Oakfield Road Church. It was his definite departure from the London home in which without a break (apart from residence in the Hall) he had passed his years of school and college; and he wrote to his mother for her birthday a letter of devoted affection, reflecting an unaffected simplicity, a complete absence of strain or pose, of cleverness or effect, not very usual in young men of his ability in their early twenties. Estlin's great powers unfolded slowly, and it would seem unconsciously, without distracting ambitions or any other form of storm and stress, through years of healthy and normal but steady and sustained growth, which in advanced old age hardly knew the touch of decay.

He had passed the summer at Zürich, getting a thoroughly accomplished and scholarly knowledge of German, and enjoying abundance of climbing and rowing. He stayed in a good family and made plenty of excellent friends, as he did at all times and everywhere throughout his life. English friends visited him, and he records with good-natured amusement how on his return one day from an unexpectedly long ramble on the hills, he found one of them trying to entertain his hostess in bad German. He gloried in walks on the Ütliberg, and the views in clear weather over the great mountains to the south. Once, he relates, it was so clear that 'every rift in the precipices of the Wetterhorn was visible'.

But all through these studies and climbs he was gravely though not oppressively conscious of the new

responsibility he had just undertaken. 'I dare say', he wrote to his father from Zürich, 'the work, when once begun, will prove less formidable. But I have undertaken it, and with God's help I will carry it through, and at any rate should it fail I shall at least know the measure of my powers . . . I trust however that your faith in growth will not be disappointed. I sometimes think and feel it in me if others will be content to wait and help.'

Your faith in growth. Here the adolescent thought of the son adopts and finds support in the mature thought of the father; and we seem to have a glimpse of the inner kinship in cast of intellect between the great naturalist, who was already feeling after the conception of evolution, and the future master of comparative religion, for whom 'growth' was the law to which the life of all religions, no less than of animals and plants, is subject. There is no hint yet, there was perhaps no hint at any time, of the difficulties inherent, for a deeply religious man, in the application of scientific conceptions to religion. The mere use of the plural transports us to another plane of emotion and of ideas. That religions are organisms, and that religion is vision and passion, are conceptions which commonly drive men into different and hostile camps, and sometimes dissociate the scholar from the saint. It was to be the rare distinction of Estlin Carpenter to hold both without apparent sense of dissonance, and to build up a mental and spiritual life nourished by the peculiar goodness of each.

In the early autumn (Thursday, 1 November) he was inducted by Dr. Martineau into the ministry at the chapel of Oakfield Road. Besides Martineau, Revs. J. J. Tayler, T. Sadler, W. H. Channing, R. L. Carpenter, and W. James of Lewin's Mead, Bristol, all took part. The address, as he tells us in his *Life of Martineau* (p. 406), was inspired by that faith in the

action of the Spirit of God upon humanity, which had again and again thrilled through his addresses to his former students when they invoked his guidance at the outset of their ministerial career.

Among those who welcomed his return as a minister to the city which had been his father's home, was his aunt, Mary Carpenter. She returned, soon after, to her work in India; but not without giving Estlin abundant and, it is clear, exacting counsel and directions, out of her rich experience, for his work in Bristol. And 'his work' was to include a continuation, in all manner of social activities, of what had been hers. The demand upon a young minister entering on his first pastorate was large; but she could have found no more loyal ally and heir to her noble labours. 'We try to bear our best remembrances of you about in the work you committed to us,' he wrote later (23 February 1867), 'and the more I see needing to be done, the more I want to do. Alas, if one only could!'

Of the beginnings of his Clifton life as a minister he wrote in detail to his father and mother, in letters full of the intimate affection which from first to last united parents and son. 'One is truly rich with such parents', he wrote to them the day after his twenty-second birthday. 'What more need I say than that I am daily more and more thankful, as I daily trace more and more their love and care.' It was his first independent home, and that love and care were lavished freely on increasing its amenities. He early began to betray in the pulpit the powerful bent for historical and evolutionary ways of approach to religion to which allusion has been made. Already in October he was lecturing on Sunday evenings on the Apocrypha, and he describes to his mother with keen gusto the deep cleavage in intellectual and spiritual character between the two groups of Apocryphal books which originated in Jerusalem and in Alexandria, and represented the first

encounter of the Hebraic and the Hellenic spirit. He thinks of writing an article on the Apocrypha for the *Theological Review*, the *Hibbert Journal* of those days, then, and throughout its course, under the brilliant editorship of Charles Beard. And now came an invitation to the young minister from Charles Beard himself to write for it; the subject proposed being however not the Apocrypha, but a review of Dean Liddon's Bampton Lectures on the divinity of Christ. This article, he tells his mother, was 'more ambitious than anything I ever tried, nor should I have dreamed of doing it, only he applied to me to do it'. A little later he is pleased to hear from Mr. Beard that he 'likes it well'.[1]

The course of lectures was continued on successive Sunday evenings, with the same controlling eye for genesis and evolution; the history of the collection of the Books of the New Testament, the Bible in the Middle Ages, the development of the Catholic doctrine of the infallibility of the Scriptures; and so forth; after which, he hopes, that 'having stuck to my pulpit since September, I may get a Sunday in London'.

In the following summer he again spent happy weeks with his brother Forbes in the Alps. As in his descriptive style, so in the tour itself, there is nothing very original or daring, little that suggests, in either writer or tourist, more than we should expect in a normal young man, glowing with health, not conspicuously gifted nor apparently ambitious. But he never edifies the occasion, every sense is alive, and he is sound as a bell. They neither kept to the valleys nor scaled the difficult peaks; they rose in the dark to tramp for hours over snow, but had no occasion for ice-axes; looked over the dizzy verge of one of the Monte Rosa

[1] The article eventually appeared in Jan. 1869, under the title 'Liddon and Réville on the Divinity of Christ'; Réville's *History of the Dogma of the Divinity of Christ* (Paris, 1869) was included in the review.

passes, 'the guide taking us singly to the edge that we might look down the 6,000 ft. of precipice'—but did not try Monte Rosa itself; and climbed the upper Théodule glacier under the Matterhorn, without a thought of trying the formidable peak, which had, it is true, been first ascended only two years before (14 July 1865). They enjoyed it all immensely, more, wrote Estlin, than he had ever enjoyed anything in his life before. And he has a keen eye for form and colour, for the changing light on the snow, and in the clouds, and the long shadows spreading in the valleys as the sun descends. 'We cannot be too thankful to have had such a day,' he writes simply to his mother, from the Riffelalp; 'such glory and grandeur and magnificence we had not at all conceived'.

The remaining year and a half of Carpenter's Clifton ministry may here be passed over. It saw no change in the even tenor of his life. But it was a time of varied and strenuous preparation for his later ministerial work, and by his support of unpopular causes, such as Rescue work, Temperance, Women's Suffrage, he showed already the wide range of sympathy characteristic of his whole life. He had found many old friends, and quickly made new ones through his preaching and pastoral visiting, though he did not there establish the bond of singular intimacy and warmth which at once marked his relations with the community to which he was presently to be called.

III

MILL HILL

I

IN February 1869, Carpenter was invited to preach at Mill Hill Chapel in Leeds. On the 30th of April he accepted a call to become its minister. For some time the Chapel had been without a regular pastor, living on 'supplies', a mode of receiving spiritual diet which, whatever its occasional unforeseen satisfactions, involved the usual disadvantages of 'hand to mouth' nourishment. Carpenter, in a letter, modestly ascribed to relief at the termination of this interregnum the hearty welcome he received. But this was making too light of the impression which the attractive personality of the new minister, now no longer untried, would anywhere have made, and also of the Yorkshire heartiness of this congregation, which would have gone half-way to meet even a diffident and awkward stranger. He had found, too, already on that first visit in February, eager interest about Mary Carpenter and her work. The head of the great Lupton clan, in particular, entertained him, and his son took him about through the Ragged and Industrial schools of Leeds. 'He seemed to me a rare man, so liberal, and at the same time doing work and kindness in many ways that men of social importance and position (as a rule) never think of taking up.' Here, in a rare degree, congregation and minister were, it might well seem, unmistakably made for each other; and each instinctively felt this, and responded with added swiftness and eagerness to the stimulus of every contact and every new appeal. It is worth while glancing a moment at some of the conditions which favoured this fortunate state of things.

II

The congregation of Mill Hill included at this time, and had long included, a proportion much beyond its numerical due of the intelligent, cultivated, enterprising, beneficent, social-minded, and well-to-do citizens of the town and neighbourhood of Leeds. This focus of the great woollen industry of the West Riding had, like Manchester across the western and Newcastle beyond the northern border of the county, many of the characteristics of a capital. It was the capital of a province, a province rapidly growing in population, wealth, and culture, and looking across, with growing self-consciousness and complacency from its hive of factory towns, set in moorland ravines, to the stately but stationary ecclesiastical and county capital on the Ouse.

The contrast with York was pointed by the strength throughout this West Riding province, as in South-east Lancashire, and on the Tyneside, of Nonconformity. Wesley's vindication of the place of emotion in religion had for three generations found eager acceptance among the keen and warm-hearted people of these crowded valleys. Here, too, were everywhere sprinkled hard-headed thinkers who laid hold with often ignorant eagerness of whatever appealed to their 'reason'. Often enough this led them outside Christianity or even religion altogether. But there remained an important, if not very numerous section, who sought a reasonable and reasoned form of belief which was at the same time religious and Christian, however sharply severed in creed and temper from Anglican 'orthodoxy'. These were largely to be found in the Unitarian body which had grown, in the later eighteenth century, from the left wing of Presbyterianism. The union of rationalism and Christianity had astonished the French deists or atheists of the Revolution when they encountered it in Joseph Priestley, the most eminent

Unitarian of his day; but it was vital, and it remained vital throughout the nineteenth century, whatever transformations both rationalism and Christian theology, under the leadership especially of James Martineau, underwent.

It thus came about that while the Unitarian congregations in the leading industrial cities were exceptionally strong, Unitarians took a prominent part in seeking a ministry educated as well as devout. No body of Englishmen was more acutely alive to the disadvantages suffered, till 1871, by the virtual exclusion of Nonconformists from the universities; none took a more active part in providing the best available substitutes. Such were the 'Literary and Philosophical Institutes' founded from 1789 onwards in Manchester, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Leeds, and elsewhere; that at Newcastle was virtually founded by William Turner, the chief Unitarian minister of the town, and probably at that date its most enlightened citizen. Such, too, were the Colleges for the training of ministers; and none of these was more distinguished, none had a better claim, in virtue of the teaching given, to be called universities in little, than the academy at Warrington, and its successor, the 'New' College, still known by the name of its earliest seat in Manchester. At the close of the sixties, too, when Carpenter came to Leeds, the more secular movement for the establishment of colleges of University rank was already active, more especially at Leeds, where the Yorkshire College of Science, in which members of the Luptons, Bucktons, and other distinguished Unitarian families early took an active part, was to be the foundation of the future university. The earliest of the group, the Owens College (now the university of Manchester), had been working, for nearly twenty years, with provocative distinction, across the Pennine border. Such were some of the conditions affecting the character and

aims of the society which had in the later sixties as the principal organ of its religious life the Chapel at Mill Hill.

But a congregation, especially among a people of strong individual character, is rarely a very homogeneous body. A Unitarian congregation in particular, by the very freedom from doctrinal rigidity which it professes and cultivates, is likely to include more 'varieties of religious experience', and more varied modes of accommodation between the secular and the religious life, the Church and the world, than communities holding more definite forms of ritual or creed. Such a congregation is likely, one may venture to add, to illustrate in an even accentuated form, the remark of Friedrich von Hügel on Protestantism at large, that it is richer than Catholicism in good men, but poorer in saints; confronting the pastor less frequently with the need of grave moral reproof, but also giving him fewer occasions for a too austerely ascetic abnegation of 'the world'. But this, it may well be replied, is to test Protestantism, and in our case, Unitarianism, by a conception of 'saintliness' which is itself rooted in Catholic tradition; it is the saintliness of the hermitage and the cloister, of the hair-shirt and the vows of poverty. Protestants revere the memory of St. Francis, of Thomas à Kempis. But modern Protestantism has evolved a type of saintliness, not less genuine, if lower, of its own: the spiritual guide who lives wholly for his people, but precisely in order to do it lives in the world, who serves them, not by surrendering his private life but by making it a channel of public service, and seeks, in his church as in himself a spiritual life which does not supersede or obliterate the secular life, but impregnates and informs it.[1]

[1] Since writing this, I have found this distinction emphasized in regard to À Kempis, by F. von Hügel himself, surely the most catholic of Catholics in recent times, endorsing a criticism by another wide-

For such whole-hearted devotion as this, the congregation of Mill Hill, as has already been suggested, offered in a rare degree opportunity and justification. Its leaders included many of the most public-spirited citizens of the community, its women were active in social work, its young men and women gave their Sunday leisure without grudging to the Sunday schools; courses of lectures were listened to by keenly responsive audiences in crowded halls; learning and scholarship might not be common, but the readiness to welcome their results was widespread and enthusiastic. The Unitarian theology for which the Church stood was held sincerely but not fanatically; relations with other denominations, even with the Established Church, were rarely bitter. The dissidence of their dissent was stout enough, but it was rather political than religious, had more to do with rivalry at the hustings and in the schools than with the subtleties of dogma, and except when influenced by an acute sense of wrong, was held with the even, genial complacency of a rival too secure in his own strength, resources, and status in the community, to be a prey to jealousy or alarm.

III

The man who in April 1869 accepted the position of spiritual guide to this congregation was not in all respects obviously marked out for the post. If he and his people found almost instantly that they were 'at home' with one another, it was not because he was cut out of the same stuff. Born and bred in the south, he might have found in the ways, manners, and speech of

minded Catholic, von Hertling: 'À Kempis nobly, and still most persuasively, embodies the world-fleeing movement essential to all deep religion and especially to Christianity; but . . . is much less satisfactory as to the other, itself also essential, element of all . . . complete religion, . . . the world-seeking, the world-penetrating, element.' *Selected Letters*, p. 252.

industrial Yorkshire a source of the cleavage of which many southerners are acutely aware, and which some never overcome. As the son of a distinguished man of science and university professor, he had grown up in a home frequented by the *élite* of the London scientific world. Carpenter himself had not only graduated with high distinction in the London University, and passed through the subsequent training in theological discipline in the ministerial college; he had himself actively embarked on scholarly work, having already begun the laborious translation of Ewald's *Geschichte Israels*, which was to refresh and relieve, to beckon and allure, but never to seduce, the busy pastor throughout his years at Leeds.[1]

But it was soon apparent that all these potential sources of friction or disaccord were powerless to impair the swift spontaneous harmony between man and people, if they did not become means of deepening and enriching that harmony, or lifting it to a higher plane. Diversity of upbringing, or accomplishment, counts for nothing in fusing the fire of an ardent personality entirely at one with itself in the devoted pursuit of a call. And much of Carpenter's already varied experience, instead of needing such fusion, added to his outer and immediate attraction, and served as a clue to guide less acute or sensitive minds to the inner secrets of his power; removed the veil, as it were, which at the outset divided the stranger from the friend. He was in the full freshness of his early prime,

[1] It may be remarked that Carpenter's possession of German, giving him the key to by far the richest literature of comparative religion then in existence, might well have proved seductive indeed. It was then a somewhat rare adventure, not with young ministers only. It was in these very years that Henry Sidgwick at Cambridge made his famous remark that a knowledge of German enabled a college tutor to lecture 'with great originality'. And he was soon to add Dutch, in which his friend Wicksteed was already a master, in order to translate Tiele's *Outlines of the History of Religion*.

of abounding health and strength, a vigorous walker and climber; in the two or three preceding summers he had explored Norwegian fiords and the snowy passes of Monte Rosa and the Matterhorn. He was already at home in Lakeland, the Highlands, and Wales. His face had not yet acquired the authority of mature years, nor the saintly beauty and quietude of his old age; but it was rich in the engaging charm of vigorous manhood, and in the openness which instantly overcomes the diffidence of a stranger, and invites address without introduction or excuse. And once addressed, he quickly made his hearer forget such formalities. Already, as throughout his life, Carpenter was an admirable talker; he had talk for every kind of hearer, talk, not painfully adapted to their wants, but flowing from keen and quick perception of their character and circumstances; and they answered to it because they instinctively felt that he understood them, was interested in them; that he talked to them, not because it was his duty as pastor, but because he liked them. To be at ease and at home in a convivial society was not exactly the first requisite in a minister at Mill Hill; but it was a key to many minds and hearts otherwise less easy of access. And Carpenter's conviviality was of the kind which insensibly and unconsciously touched the springs of ideas and impulses which lay beyond it. He did not 'improve the occasion', he put his heart into it; he did not 'talk down' to his hearers but on equal and companionable terms. Yet this talk to 'equals' seldom failed to leave them other and better than they were.

How immediate the response of the congregation was to its new minister is apparent from his letters. On the first Christmas Eve he was a guest at a great gathering of the Lupton family clan in the house of its patriarch Darnton Lupton. Thirty-eight sat down to table, all but he relatives of either husband or wife. 'Mr. Lupton (a hale old man of eighty) looked the

embodiment of happiness. There was a cordiality, a family feeling, quite indescribable. . . .' But the stranger was made to feel one of them: 'I seem to have so fallen in with the ways and entered into the life of the people here, that I am more at ease than I should be in the South.'

Yet the protracted and constant exercise of a natural social gift, even where it finds keen and grateful response, is a tax upon vitality; and in a congregation so full of sociability as that of Mill Hill, the call for such exercise was protracted and iterated indeed. The Chapel possessed a well-equipped Congregational hall, where lectures and every kind of meeting and entertainment were held, not in the winter months only. 'I have been busy with Ewald', writes Carpenter, 'besides the incessant stream of gaieties, tea meetings, lectures, &c., which the winter brings with it.' Or again: 'Last week I wound up some dissipation or other every night with an ecclesiastical picnic in Mr. B.'s iron Church'—(the missionary church in the poor suburb of Hunslet, mainly supported by Mill Hill). Missionary work was indeed included in the large interpretation which Carpenter gave to sociality. The Hunslet Church had been started before his ministry began; but in the attempt to make the large and wealthy Church of Mill Hill a centre from which radiated not religious propaganda only, but a keener sense of human fellowship, and of the power of men to uplift one another by intercourse,—in this he was both a commanding force and a pioneer. The Unitarian Chapels scattered through the West Riding were often in out-of-the-way places, where their ministers carried on an uphill work much in isolation and with little or no access to congenial society. Carpenter organized social gatherings at Mill Hill, where these isolated workers found, in his words, 'real encouragement in meeting well-wishers and exchanging sympathy and interest'.

IV

And it was not only in providing social encouragement and heartening lonely workers that Mill Hill, under Carpenter, became a radiating centre of influence in the West Riding. The teaching of religion in the Sunday schools was carried on under great difficulties, and was often seriously defective. Of the application of critical methods to the Old Testament, by which German and Dutch scholars were vitally transforming the accepted tradition of Hebrew history, few teachers had more than a vague and distant notion, and the pulpits were not always greatly more advanced, in this respect, than the schools. Carpenter's religion, like his scholarship, was even now penetrated with the strong historic sense characteristic of his ripe erudition; he knew that religion as well as theological education suffered from the accepted tradition which gave all parts of the Old Testament, or even of the entire Bible, equal authority. He tried to meet the need by organizing courses of lectures: 'I have been trying', he writes, 'to spirit up some of the neighbouring ministers to organize some lectures for Sunday school teachers on Biblical and other subjects. I cannot get much done, but I have done a little myself, and hope gradually to do more.' Early in his time at Leeds he delivered a course of Lectures on Old Testament history in the fine Congregational Hall of his Church, which to his surprise were attended by eager and crowded audiences. They were attended, too, by many students and tutors from the neighbouring Wesleyan theological college, whose questions on the untraditional presentation of Jesus created at the first lecture a certain 'tartness' in the atmosphere, so that the proceedings were 'rather abruptly closed'. Later, the questions were sometimes futile, but occasionally, in the hands of the Wesleyan tutors, led to valuable discussions. In this field of

enterprise, as elsewhere, Carpenter's way was to 'do a little himself' when others were slow in doing,[1] and he found even ignorant audiences keenly responsive. 'About a month ago', he writes, 'I lectured at Halifax, to a very nice audience . . . Last night, at Pudsey, to about eighty, and a more open-eyed, open-eared, open-mouthed and I hope open-minded audience I never addressed.' And again: 'It is as if nothing had ever been done, people are so heartily grateful.' And he himself highly valued these opportunities of 'seeing into the life of neighbouring congregations and ministers'.

Still more novel, not only in Yorkshire but in the Unitarian world at large, were Carpenter's lectures on later periods of religious history, where neither Biblical nor denominational interest was directly concerned. Thus he gave fifteen lectures on the Reformation. Indifference, often touched with intellectual disdain, was still frequent in the attitude of the Unitarians towards other religious faiths than their own,and thence to the history of those faiths and even to the entire process of medieval and modern history in which the light of Unitarianism, however pure, was confessedly so insignificant.[2] Robert Drummond, at Edinburgh, had written the best English book on Erasmus, and Charles Beard, later of Liverpool, inspired by still larger spiritual sympathies, the best English book on Port-Royal (1861). Beard, who, had he not been the minister of an unpopular denomination, would have been recognized as one of the foremost historical and theological scholars of his day, produced still later his

[1] 'What a man you are for work, Carpenter', said a teacher of the Sunday school, who had been seeking a substitute, when the minister promptly offered to take his place.

[2] Even as a student he had missed in the lectures of J. J. Tayler any reference to the rise and power of the papacy. 'Minute analysis of the symbols of the Lutheran and Calvinist Churches there was, but not a word of the methods by which Luther and Calvin effected their work.'

chief work, on the *Reformation of the Sixteenth Century in its Relation to Modern Thought and Knowledge* (1883).[1] But these were brilliant exceptional cases. And the day was still to come when Philip Wicksteed, Carpenter's lifelong friend and fellow-worker, was to surprise, and a little bewilder while he fascinated, both traditional Unitarians and the stalwarts of the 'Reformed' faiths at large, by revealing, in the footsteps of Dante and Aquinas, the significance of the 'exploded' religious thinking of the Middle Ages, and explaining, in a now classical Essex Hall Lecture (1899), how medieval Catholicism had apprehended the 'religion of Eternity' beyond and above the religion of Time. Long after this, when Carpenter had become Principal of Manchester College at Oxford, he could write to his successor at Leeds, Charles Hargrove, once a Catholic, urging him to deliver there a course of lectures on the *Summa* of Aquinas—'for, among us, who save you and Philip Wicksteed is at home in the scholastic philosophy?' And it was possible, only a little earlier, for a very remarkable and influential Unitarian preacher to write 'The Story of Religion in England' with scarcely an allusion to the Oxford Movement. In this and other ways the man of thirty who ripened slowly, but along singularly uniform and continuous lines, was showing the powerful bent which dominates his entire work.

V

But if Carpenter was already, amidst the endless distractions of a busy minister, laying the foundations of his later mastery of comparative religion, he was also showing, in profusion, the qualities of mind and heart and spirit which were to secure him from any suggestion of the temper which contemplates all forms

[1] The sterling value of this is now recognized. It has been reissued with an introduction by Prof. Ernest Barker, 1927.

of religion, holding none. Carpenter was entitled, if any one, to claim to be impartial in his judgement of the religions. But his life and work were a standing and impressive protest against the vulgar assumption that the impartial man is he who does not take sides. Carpenter did take sides; he had no doubt about 'the place of Christianity among the religions', and he eloquently and luminously proclaimed and expounded it. But this definite position was not reached merely by scholarly research, by the weighing of doctrine against doctrine and creed against creed. It was a position to which not the scholar only, but every element in Carpenter's rich and abounding nature contributed, and above all his energy in social service, his fearless loyalty to the conclusions in every department of science, and his deep religious devotion. And devotion, the glow of impassioned worship in prayer and praise, was the aspect of Carpenter's work for which many at Mill Hill were most deeply grateful. The beauty of his devotional services overcame the distrust excited, in stout adherents of the older Unitarianism, by his application of historical criteria to the Jesus of the Unitarian creed. The venerable Darnton Lupton, when near his end (at eighty) confessed to Estlin his occasional mistrust of 'advanced views which might unsettle the weak', and showed him a letter of remonstrance which he had written but never sent. And now he thanked him for 'the very beautiful devotional services you have given us at Mill Hill'. 'I often hear the remark', some one told him later, 'that the Sunday morning service is sufficient for a month.' And the highly charged emotional atmosphere in which his hearers thus received his teaching may explain another 'remark', which in later days he said 'used to be frequent at Leeds', to the effect that every one seemed to be hearing his own opinions; a Pentecostal phenomenon certainly not isolated in the experience of great

preachers. But Carpenter was not the man to trade upon this power. And we find him, with his usual eagerness to give the Sunday services a collateral root in the study and thought of the week, instituting courses of lectures on historic books of devotion, such as the *Pensées* of Pascal or the *De Imitatione* of A Kempis, of which, as already noticed, he felt Unitarianism to have been so much less prolific than of powerful ratiocination. And such topics were strange in 1870 to even cultured members of every Protestant denomination.

In the same spirit he found even a book so large-minded in its historical grasp of widely different religious systems and their characteristic ethics as Moncure Conway's *Ethnic Scriptures*, gravely wanting in the fervour which moves and uplifts; and reviewed it in this sense with some severity. 'Ethically', he wrote, 'their standard is lofty, but they do not quicken emotion, they simply proclaim duties.'

How far his own religion rose not only above a simple ethical enthusiasm but above Christianity as ordinarily presented, with its sharp distinction between 'the life now and here and the life hereafter', may be judged from such utterances as this, in a letter to Mary Carpenter:

'I think more and more constantly of Paul's doctrine of being risen with Christ, which seems to me to imply such intense feeling of the reality of immortal life beginning now, when one can in some degree realize the feeling that in one's highest moments one is living now eternal life, and that we shall simply pass from glory to glory. . . . One has an absolute trust, a sense of the other life being nearer, nay a positive desire to enter it, which not only fills me but sometimes seems to overwhelm me.'

Such was the inner faith which irradiated the face of the young minister, and which only became the more constant and secure possession of his ripe maturity and his beautiful old age. But it was a faith which never ceased, then or later, to be translated into daily practice;

let us rather say, of which his daily practice was only another expression, as immediate and authentic as his glowing thought and words themselves.

It may be well to speak somewhat more explicitly here about Carpenter's preaching, which thus disclosed so clearly the sources of his power. It would be very untrue to say that it never varied. He could deal like a statistician with practical problems, like a theologian with Christian history. At Oxford, India came with increasing frequency across the horizon of his outlook. But the root of all was the vision of an infinite divine Presence encompassing and penetrating Nature and Man, working everywhere for good, supporting all man's efforts, and accessible to him whenever and wherever he opens himself to its sway. This was for him the 'Fountain of life', and that fountain never ceased to flow, freely, spontaneously, from the hour of that visionary experience in his early manhood to the day he died, because his whole life, thought, and action were a continual response to it. This was the key to all his preaching; it was the title of his last sermon at Mill Hill (27 June 1875); and, twenty years later, in the parting address to the young ministers of 1895, it was the same sermon, with a few slight additions that he gave:

> 'On one side of our being we touch an intelligence that transcends our own. . . . Keep but an open eye, a lowly heart, a faithful spirit, and the fountain of life will flow through you freely, and though you know not that its source is indeed divine, you shall not lack the blessing which it brings. . . . Where is the field of the divine agency? Shall we be wrong if we say that it is at once wide as the universe and central as the soul?'

For this conviction he found language sometimes, it might seem to the sceptical, loosely reasoned, for with him its warrant did not ultimately lie in reason at all, but never merely rhetorical, though constantly eloquent with the eloquence of absolute conviction,

and fertile because his faith had so many facets and touched life at so many points. 'I see that the world contains not the infinity we feel; rather does this infinity contain the world', he declared, and the phrase might have suggested a 'God-intoxicated man'; but with Carpenter that sense of the encompassing infinity only made his eye clearer, his step surer, and his heart quicker and more overflowing with goodness, as he moved about in the 'finite' world it encompassed.

It was because Carpenter's preaching and the entire religious service of which it was a part was rooted in inner vision, that though prepared, and written, his sermons were intense and concentrated efforts, which for the time absorbed his whole being and left him fatigued and outworn. 'To me', he wrote in later days to his wife, 'one of the chief fatigues of preaching is the concentration of thought and feeling it demands. From one end of the service to the other I can only live in what I am saying from moment to moment. Any other thought would jar and disturb. I do not see or feel the people, except in a vague far-off way; I know in a sort of undercurrent of consciousness that I am not alone, perhaps as if I were listened to with a certain sympathy; but if personal thought arises, I cannot go on. And now it has long ceased to do so. I cannot gain this concentration in the pew, and I don't think that all preachers feel it as I do, but I can't wish it otherwise for myself.'

This is not the place to discuss the grounds of Carpenter's faith. To many it will seem a sufficient and final justification that in its inspiration he lived the rich and beautiful life he did, and became and continued to the last to be the heroic spirit he was. He was willing to reason, but he knew, and frankly admitted, that 'reasoning cannot bring God into the conclusion if he is not first found in the premises'. Thought looks into space and rests in the infinity which escapes its grasp;

or it looks within and finds holiness wielding authority, and summoning us to obey in the name of a right we did not make and imperfectly understand, yet wearing an angel's grace even while it excites our awe.

VI

One or two incidents of the Leeds years, described in Carpenter's correspondence, may be quoted as adding more or less expressive detail to this sketch of his life in these years. When the British Association met at Bradford, in 1873, he preached a sermon 'On the influence of Science on the religious imagination (one of a course . . . of which the idea is to trace the various influences that have been at work in educating our religious conception) . . . My father and some others urged its publication. I did not feel at all easy about it, there is of course nothing new to be said on such a subject, and I knew that I had written it under the guidance of Mr. Martineau's thought, and I did not wish any one to say that my fire was all stolen. I therefore asked Mr. Charles Beard the other day to look over it, to see whether there was sufficient independence in it to justify me in publishing it as something more than a mere exercise in a certain style and school. He sent me a very kind note about it: advised me to strike out a reference to Mr. Martineau as "not needful" and thought it might be useful in some quarters . . . so it is gone to the printers.' Carpenter's religion was a living spring not derived either from Martineau or from any other personal influence. His regard for science, moreover, quickened by filial affection, was quite free from the causticity not infrequent in Martineau's. His profound modesty, which even the superlative achievements of his later years never impaired, led him to magnify his debt, and it needed the kindly corrective of Charles Beard's judgement to

induce him to temper the statement of complete dependence.

His keen interest in every kind of religious phenomena may be illustrated by an account in a letter to his uncle at Bridport, of a winter visit, in the early seventies, to Charles Voysey, then awaiting the judgement which eventually deprived him of Anglican orders. He was staying with George Buckton—his future father-in-law—at Roundhay, near Leeds, and induced his host to make this visit. They drove about eleven miles to Boston Spa on the Wharfe.

'The day was superb in its winter glories. Snowstorms swept rapidly across the ever-changing landscape, and then left a clear sky with sharp cut shadows lying on hill and valley and that lovely blue haze that comes over distant woods on frosty days. . . . We walked about five miles from Boston to Healaugh, where Mr. Voysey received us most cordially. The first thing he did being to shake us with both hands and put our feet on the fender and offer us whisky (declined with thanks!) He knew my father, and was (as I also knew) a correspondent of Mr. Wicksteed. He evidently was pleased with our visit, for he said he never saw a creature except his parishioners, and they though devoted to him are not intellectual, but bucolic. He plunged at once into his position, and was very communicative. He is of course quite prepared for an adverse judgement, though he evidently hopes almost against hope, that he may be acquitted. But he said that should he be condemned on any one of the numerous counts, and fined but one single halfpenny, he would quit the Church at once. I have always contended, both with Unitarians and Churchmen that his position is a very intelligible and a very honest one: we, of course, are not the judges of his consistency with the articles and creeds of his Church, still less are we the keepers of his conscience. He quoted with some triumph the admission of the Solicitor-General that he had not anywhere affirmed the logical contradiction of any proposition in the articles, and said "If that be so my case is clear". He is a little man, with an acute birdlike face and merry twinkling eyes, very keen in mind, but not, I think, powerful. He did not give me the feeling of a man of great constructive

power nor even of a man of great reverence (not, perhaps he would say, for the numerous idols of man). Still I would not give the impression that he is irreverent. He said he was receiving overtures from some Unitarians already about coming out and taking a Unitarian pulpit. I felt sorry that he should be pestered already, . . . and I do not think he is ever likely to join any special "body";—besides, he said, "perhaps you would not have me!" . . . We were back in Leeds by four.'

VII

In his third year at Leeds the physical vigour which had carried Carpenter securely and lightly through the immense labours of his ministry, began to fail in a single but highly embarrassing particular,—his voice. Preaching and talking became difficult and ultimately dangerous. This affliction, which might well have ruined his career, deserves a moment's notice. Men so full of physical vitality, so abounding in health and strength as the record of his early travels in Scotland and the Alps shows him to have been, rarely bear with patience the first assault of a physical infirmity. His voice was naturally rich and powerful, and carried easily to every corner of large halls and chapels. To the eager preacher and teacher the partial or complete frustration of his power to communicate more than mutilated fragments of his message, and to balk even the painfully strained attention of devoted hearers, was far harder to bear than physical pain. How impossible the situation was becoming in 1873 is apparent from the report of his old fellow-student already named, Collins Odgers, who presently became his colleague. 'Every listener was aware that only with a hard struggle could he produce his words. Very often we lost the theme of his address altogether, our attention being drowned by our compassion for his painful effort. Sometimes in words of three syllables one syllable, usually the middle one, would be quite inaudible. Yet

with so grievous a drawback . . . . he held on bravely to every duty.' The congregation met the situation with the utmost sympathy and generosity. When a holiday of eight weeks in Switzerland brought no improvement he was sent on a tour to Egypt and Palestine for six months (November 1872—May 1873), which naturally provided a setting of the utmost value for his Biblical studies, but otherwise proved of no avail. 'I have been here only three years, and they do all this for me', was his grateful comment. But this longer time of relief in a better climate also doing little lasting good, Carpenter asked to be allowed to provide at his own cost a preacher at the evening service. This plan was adopted, but shortly modified by the appointment of a second minister, Mr. J. Collins Odgers, who had Carpenter's entire confidence, Carpenter himself resigning £150 of his salary. He was completely cured only nine years later, in 1884.[1] In the meantime the dilemma, little diminished, remained.

It was solved by his invitation to the chair of Ecclesiastical History, Comparative Religion, and Hebrew, in Manchester College, London. His appointment, notwithstanding his physical disability, attests the importance attached to the little he had yet produced in any part of this vast field. In February 1875, the invitation, already accepted, but not yet publicly known, was at length formally sent. 'The long delayed invitation', he writes to his mother on that date, 'arrived this morning, and by the accompanying letter and resolution Mr. Beard conveyed to me the proposal of the Committee. Mr. Joseph Lupton called at an early hour. He had already let the secret out.' Carpenter had, then, accepted, and he felt no doubt that he did

[1] It may be mentioned here, in order not to return to the matter, that the cure was due to a book on voice production *Voice, Song, and Speech* by Lennox Browne and Emil Behnke, brought to his notice by his former student and lifelong friend, Rev. V. D. Davis.

right; but it was no light thing to break up the intimacies of five years, and he regretted most of all the loss of the opportunity of preaching. Even this duty, he admits, was irksome at times; but these times had been less frequent with him than they used to be, 'and I fancy that I have had more to say and have said it better, and I have felt a certain power growing in me of speaking so as to move others'.

The decision to resign had not been easy. But for the trouble with his voice it would certainly never have been taken. Later on, in London (16 April 1876), he wrote in his diary that he had had 'many doubts how far I was right in choosing a life manifestly easier'. Such even in retrospect he felt the life of academic scholarship to be, intellectually strenuous as it was, yet comparatively free from the social and other distractions which at Leeds Carpenter had not so much failed to avoid, as joyously and eagerly embraced.

He preached for the last time at Mill Hill on 27 June. His resignation was followed by tributes of the heartiest affection, couched in warm Yorkshire phrase. One lady found moving consolation in the thought (as she wrote to him) that perhaps in future years, 'when I am an old woman I shall be able to rejoice over the many young ministers whom you will have trained, and shall then be able to see that what was a grievous wrench for us was a beneficent turning-point in the life of Manchester College. But for the present I must be excused for wishing the whole affair at the bottom of the sea'. A number of the younger members of the congregation drew up a memorial imploring their minister, with the sanguine hopefulness of youth, to reconsider his decision.

Carpenter's own feelings are expressed in a letter to Mary Carpenter, which, as comparatively few are preserved, may be given somewhat fully here. He writes, in July 1875, from a retreat at Pateley Bridge,

three weeks after the final severance: 'I must not quit my northern retreat without sending you a few words of greeting. I have spent here some three weeks, resting at first, in the midst of green meadows and open moors, and then working, as far as strength allowed, at my college lectures. You will readily understand that with the last days in Leeds was mingled a certain gladness in the evidences of regard which were so abundantly bestowed upon me. One after another, as I bade them farewell in their own homes, thanked me for words that I had said to them, and I went away cheered and encouraged more than I could have thought, by the goodwill which these utterances, sometimes expressed as it were with trembling and difficulty, again and again revealed. Of course, looking back over the past six years from my solitude here, I see only too clearly many things imperfectly, some unwisely, done. But I do not altogether throw away these results of experience, for they will guide me in my work hereafter, and I shall at any rate be able to warn my students sometimes against the mistakes which are only too vivid in my memory.'

IV

MANCHESTER COLLEGE

I.—LONDON

I

CARPENTER found the College which he had left only nine years before in some notable respects enlarged and enriched. James Martineau, then its Professor of Philosophy was now Principal, and the influence of a personality, at once austere and sweet, of exquisite delicacy and commanding power, exercised its sway over the entire work and life of the College. And in 1869 there came, as Professor of New Testament Theology, James Drummond, junior minister of the ancient centre of Manchester Unitarianism, Cross Street Chapel. Drummond was, as a preacher, a spiritual kinsman of Martineau himself, one who no less than he, had in his great moments, the vision and the faculty divine. But he was shy, reticent, with little gift for ordinary social intercourse, or for popular lecturing; and his noble and beautiful but elusive personality remained, even among scholars, until the appearance of his *The Jewish Messiah* (1877), and his *Philo Judaeus* (1888), known but to a few. Little more was known of Martineau's successor in the chair of philosophy,—another beautiful but retiring spirit, Charles Upton. Among those who now, if not actual colleagues, became close and constant intimates, was Philip Wicksteed, perhaps the keenest and most fertile mind among them all; Martineau's successor in the pulpit of Little Portland Street Chapel, and soon to enter upon his long and brilliant career as an Extension Lecturer for Oxford and London Universities, as an exponent, in important and influential books, of Ibsen, of economics, and of Dante.

The little band of spiritual thinkers and teachers who now welcomed Estlin Carpenter as their colleague, stood in most points, apart from their religious faith, on the common ground of cultivated Liberal Englishmen. Martineau alone, in this respect, showed some of the incalculable paradoxes of genius. Senior by many years to all his colleagues—almost forty to Carpenter—he had gone through a more complex development than any of them. Starting from the necessarian faith of Hartley and Priestley, he had shaped a path by way of German idealism to the transformed Unitarianism which, far from rejecting the doctrine of the Incarnation, held it to be true (in Martineau's words) 'not of Christ exclusively, but of Man universally and God everlastingly' (*Essays*, ii. 443). On the other hand, he puzzled his Liberal friends by diverging sharply at some points from the democratic faith which they commonly found to be the natural accompaniment if not the logical expression of the Unitarian creed. He had found himself in antagonism, ten years before this date, to the then Principal, John James Tayler, on the burning issue of the American Civil War. And in the years of intense political dissension (1876-80) which immediately followed Carpenter's accession, it was Disraeli, not Gladstone, who won his sympathy. On the claims of women to equal privileges, in these very years beginning to be advanced with energy (they won admission to the degrees of the University of London in 1876), he looked with little sympathy; he had even, at one time, admitted them with reluctance to his own lectures. And Martineau was deeply perturbed by phenomena of the time which clearly menaced all forms of religious faith. 'He is hopeless', Carpenter wrote, 'about the growth of science and atheism.' Carpenter, who had grown up in a home where scientific enthusiasm and religious faith were harmonious co-mates, was fortified against

such doubts. His own faith could certainly call to its support no such phalanx of philosophic argument as Martineau's; but it had the bell-like clearness of natural optimism. 'To me', he wrote, in comment upon the above statement, 'it does not seem impossible that the present fashion of negations may be the needful reaction from the positive declarations of the past about the nature and designs of God. And I cannot conceive how any one who has once realized the conviction of the divine presence in nature or his moral action in life, can have any doubts as to the triumph of truth.' It was thus that that visionary experience of his early manhood, in the Welsh valley, which he declared to be the beginning of his religious life, came to his aid in the stormier atmosphere of his mature years, and gave him a simple security where his great colleague could not resist despondence and even despair. So, perhaps, Wordsworth might have met Pascal.

II

Carpenter was as yet, as he well knew, no specialist in any part of the vast fields of learning he was now called to teach. His Hebrew was so little advanced that he obtained a respite of a year for completer study. In the immense domain of Ecclesiastical History he was extraordinarily well-read, but scarcely a historical scholar. And his letters and journals of the summer preceding his first session describe frankly his endeavours to convert 'the general ideas which are often worse than none at all' into exact and first-hand knowledge. But he brought to the task not only his extraordinary power of rapid work, but the historical mind and in germ, we surmise, the evolutionary method, which were to organize and illuminate his later exposition of comparative religion. Neither had found much foothold in the older Unitarian tradition, which

had drawn its intellectual nourishment from the anti-historical vein of eighteenth-century philosophy, from Hartley and Godwin, not from Burke. His chief predecessor, J. J. Tayler, had excited his disapproval, even in his student days, as already stated, by his method of expounding the theologies of the past, with minute analysis of their dogmatic constituents, but little attention to their history and development. Carpenter came to the study of the complex currents of medieval Christianity well acquainted with the historic methods which had recently transformed the conception of Hebraic religion current among modern scholars. He had spent his scanty leisure hours at Leeds, as we know, in translating Ewald. And he proposed to base his exposition of the Old Testament on the then startlingly revolutionary teaching of Kuenen, in close alliance here with his friend Wicksteed, Kuenen's foremost English exponent.[1]

His critical and scholarly power steadily grew to the measure of the vaster tasks now before him. Of one peril of critical scholarship he was at no time in danger. The freshness of moral feeling, the inborn love of holiness, which in him age had no power to wither nor custom to stale, made it always impossible for him to handle the complex ethical phenomena presented by ecclesiastical history with the colourless mentality which the pursuit of historical impartiality sometimes engenders. Thus he criticizes sharply Boissier's powerful account of Roman religion at the time of the Antonines as failing to convey the sense of burning shame he may possibly have felt, at the lurid iniquities of ordinary daily life. It was one of Carpenter's most signal traits as a scholar in his ripest period to unite the clearest apprehension of complex conditions and

[1] Wicksteed attempted in his valuable *Bible for Young People*, translated from the Dutch work, by Oort and Hooykaas, of the same name, to introduce Kuenen's results into elementary Bible teaching.

intricate webs of thought with a moral judgement not usually intricate or subtle at all, but simple, strong, and pure.

The following letter (13 November 1875) to his uncle at Bridport, the minister to whom, until his death, Estlin confided regularly his plans and thoughts, will illustrate some of the reflections suggested by his first weeks in London. He writes from 4 Oppidans Road, the house on Primrose Hill which remained his home for the next five years. After detailing his lecture hours he goes on to pay a tribute to the great book of Kuenen, on which, as already stated, he was founding his Old Testament lectures:

'It is so scrupulously careful never to step beyond the bounds of evidence, or build theories without a basis of fact, that it is in the truest sense of the word scientific. And Kuenen has for the first time rendered possible the idea of an intelligible development in the religion of Israel.'

He has now learnt to appreciate more fully the inadequacy of Ewald:

'The reviewer of Ewald's History in the current number of the *Edinburgh* has made me see more clearly than ever the untenableness of his position. His book was a grand step in advance, but it cannot be accepted as final. The glorified notion which he entertains of the Mosaic age breaks down beneath Kuenen's analysis, and instead of seeing the nation reach at once to heights of moral and spiritual development and then enter on a long decline against which the prophets contended in vain, we find the people gradually emerging from lower into loftier conceptions without any violent breaks of moral continuity.'

It is easy to read in this letter, and particularly in the tone of the final sentence, how profoundly Kuenen's transformation of the Jewish tradition appealed to the evolutionary bent of Carpenter's historic thinking.

But he was about to embark upon a study destined to further this bent even more profoundly; a new study,

in which few men in Europe, and probably only one in England, had preceded him, the Buddhist scriptures in their original language Pali. By good fortune that one man, Dr. T. Rhys-Davids, had recently become professor of the subject at University College, London. On Carpenter's invitation, in January 1876, Rhys-Davids came to share his house on Primrose Hill, and Carpenter entered under the most favourable conditions upon Pali study, becoming within a few years qualified to co-operate with his tutor in editing Pali texts.

III

Of his daily occupations Carpenter continued, as at Leeds, to keep concise records, still preserved in a series of leather-bound note-books. They were an instance of the minute order which governed his whole life. Many entries are merely titles, notes of places visited, letters written, calls paid, books read. Sometimes conversations, concerts, or lectures are briefly reported, with occasional indications of Carpenter's own judgement.[1] There are hardly any abbreviations,

[1] Some indication of their contents and hence of the character of his daily life may be given from the volume for 1876–7, his second session at Manchester College. Three or four morning hours were regularly occupied by college lectures. Much time was occupied with Hebrew, of which his command was at the outset confessedly imperfect, later (in addition to Pali) with Syriac and Chaldee. Frequent visits to the neighbouring British Museum, and the adjacent Dr. Williams's Library were a matter of course.

The following, from a letter to one of his students, gives some idea of the countless little things which claimed Carpenter's time and pen in these years.

'On Monday morning I had a note from Miss S. asking me in the name of the family to write an obituary notice of her father; I had to collect information as well as I could in a day or two and throw it hastily together. Then I had dozens of letters about the Samaritan. Likewise an article for the Christian Reformer. Also a lecture for MNC on the "Anglican Church as established". So I am busy. It is now past midnight, and stupidity is overwhelming me.'

Preparation for the lectures on Ecclesiastical History is the subject

but extensive tracts of shorthand, in a script traditional in the Carpenter family, and no less elegant than his ordinary hand.

For varied social intercourse within its walls, a college of four professors could scarcely be the equivalent of an Oxford common-room. But the four men, each of rare mental and moral distinction, possessed one of the conditions which favour weighty and fruitful talk—a common faith, held with passionate conviction by all, yet with differences in the angle of approach due to unlike temperament and upbringing. The diary occasionally records long and serious talks with these colleagues, as with Drummond on the Logos. Foreign scholars, too, occasionally visited the college. Of special interest to Carpenter was the visit of the illustrious historian of religion, Tiele, whose work the *Outlines of the History of Religion* he later translated, in June 1877. They paid a call together on Dean Stanley. Earlier in the same year he had been arranging with Max Müller, who had just been relieved of active work for his Oxford chair, to open the now well-known series of Hibbert Lectures with a course on Comparative Religion. A periodical occasion for discussion of religion and philosophy was further provided by the 'Taylerian' society.[1] Here Martineau himself commonly presided, and the debates, maintained on a high level of intellect and scholarship, are often noticed in some detail in the diary. Here Carpenter himself propounded new points in his study of the Old Testament or medieval history; recording with modest satisfaction when they were 'well received' by his

of constant entries in one year; now he is busy working out the history of Innocent III, now transcribing passages from Abelard, Augustine, or Jerome.

[1] It was continued, when the College moved from London, as the 'Society of Historical Theology' at Oxford, now in even fuller vigour and larger scope.

senior colleagues; here Philip Wicksteed flashed out his original phrases and unexpected turns of thought.

Outside the immediate College circle, too, Carpenter found congenial friends. Among these were Dr. Edwin Abbott, Head Master of the City of London School, whose classical and English scholarship are still well remembered; the naturalist Edward Clodd; and the great critic and journalist Richard Holt Hutton. Hutton was then, as for many years afterwards, making *The Spectator* a power in English Liberal, intellectual, and religious life. He had himself been a student of Manchester College as well as of University College. Some sixteen years before Carpenter entered them, he and his fellow-student the economist, Walter Bagehot, as he has told us, would pace up and down the unlovely length of Gower Street, absorbed in philosophical debate. Hutton had now, under the influence of F. D. Maurice, withdrawn from the strict Unitarian position; but his deep reverence for Martineau never waned, and if any warm and understanding friend and advocate of Manchester College was to be found in the generally unsympathetic or ignorant London press, it was *The Spectator* in Hutton's hands.

Still wider intercourse was furnished by the frequent Conferences in his own or allied subjects which Carpenter attended, making brief reports in his diaries. Thus, at the Christian Conference, held in November 1886, Professor Rhys-Davids presided at a discussion at which Legge, the Chinese specialist, and Fairbairn, the principal of Mansfield College, read the principal papers. Carpenter was impressed by the breadth of both in their attitude to other religions, whereas all the Christian missionaries present insisted that their one and only duty was 'to preach Christ crucified'.

In controversies of this type Carpenter himself was soon to intervene with authority. Though not yet a specialist in Pali, he was already giving the religions

of India a place of the first importance in the College study of Comparative Religion, and preparing to make this study that meeting place, for mutual invigoration, of the religious ideals of East and West which for the next generation it was to become in his hands. Upon the whole subject of Comparative Religion, which he had been called to undertake, Carpenter in fact set a new impress. His introductory lecture for the session 1884-5, on 'Three ways of Salvation' explained the plan of the course of that year, which was in effect to be a comparative study of Christian ways of salvation from Paul to Augustine, and of those offered by Brahmanism and Buddhism. Already, too, we discern some of the grounds of Carpenter's lifelong attraction to the Indian religions; the Buddhist 'enthusiasm of humanity', and the example of the religious internationalism which had enabled it to draw five hundred millions of men into its embrace.

IV

Before passing on to speak of the new enterprises which engaged Carpenter outside the College, a word may be said of some of the Long-vacations,—seasons habitually spent by him in ways no less stamped with his character than his scholarly work. The first vacation (1876) was spent at Leyburn, in Yorkshire, a valley without the seductive excitements offered by Cumberland or Wales—for Carpenter had hard and close reading to do for his second session—but charming the eye by its 'rich and gentle' scenery, and the great moors around it. He busied himself especially with Jerome and Augustine, 'the sources of the two great streams of ecclesiastical influence running all through the Middle Ages to the Reformation'. And he pleasantly tells how, having found in Jerome a recommendation of pilgrimages to saints ('with candles in your hand') he had looked out for 'a Unitarian saint'.

He found one in the memorable Theophilus Lindsey, who in 1773 had given up his living to become the founder of the Essex Street Unitarian Chapel in London; and walked eleven miles to visit his vicarage at Catterick.

The second vacation (1877) was more momentous. Much of August was spent in Borrowdale and the neighbourhood with his old Leeds friends, George Buckton and his wife and daughter. In the Bucktons' home at Roundhay he had been from the first a peculiarly welcome and honoured guest; in the father he found, almost from the outset, as he wrote to his uncle, 'something between an elder brother and a paternal friend'. He thus had no barrier of estrangement to cross when he entered that hospitable and kindly home as a son. On the 30th of August he became engaged to their second daughter, Alice. They were married at Mill Hill in the following July.

It was the beginning of a union of nearly fifty years, of which a friend said that it had been 'a benediction for all who knew them'. In such unions the share of husband and wife, even if unequally conspicuous, is equally vital. Of Mrs. Carpenter's part in making their married life what it was, it may seem impertinent to speak; but just because the help she gave him was so unobtrusive and so self-effacing as to be easily overlooked, to pass it over in silence would be even more unjust to both. From the first she applied the energy and devotion of a very able and entirely unselfish woman to making the home of a man of extraordinarily varied activities, countless friends and acquaintances, and boundless goodness of heart, a haven of rest. She assisted his native instinct for economizing time and space by subjecting the entire household to the control of a sense of order even more exacting than his own. Her devotion, always unflagging, was never more indefatigable than when in his last years his robust

health began to fail. That he could and did work to within a few weeks of the end was due above all to the watchful care which she had exercised from the beginning of their married life.

Both husband and wife delighted in travel, and their journeys henceforth took a wider range. France and Switzerland followed during the later summer of 1878, after their marriage. From 1880 Norway was visited again and again for periods of eight or nine weeks. Carpenter was a keen and powerful oarsman, and became familiar with every reach of the great Sogne fiord. After some experience of hiring a boat locally, he resolved to buy one at Bergen and sell it at the close of the summer. The boat was carried on the steamer to the mouth of a fiord and then lowered with the little English party on board, not without some excitement among the passengers. But the experience was entirely successful, and was repeated in six or seven subsequent years. Stories were long current of 'the English gentleman who had rowed up the entire Sogne'. The 'English gentleman' and his wife, for their part, delighted in the primitive life which they could now enjoy, landing at whatever secluded nook of the great fiord took their fancy, and accepting with relish whatever rude accommodation the local land-handler could offer.

V

To the ordinary tasks of his chair now began to be added a growing measure of scholarly and literary work. Much time was spent in the loving labour of writing the Life and editing the letters of his aunt, Mary Carpenter. She had been, as we know, one of his most frequent and valued correspondents. Her other correspondence also was very large and important, and the *Life and Work*, when at length published, in 1879, bore witness to the devoted industry as well as to the tact

and skill of the biographer. His book gave an impressive image of one of the most remarkable Englishwomen of her generation, and one of the few who, like Margaret Noble (*Sister Nivedita*), have given their lives to the service of the people of India.

An even more congenial piece of biography was the Memoir of his father, undertaken shortly after his death in 1885, and prefixed to a selection of his scientific essays. Father and son had always, as we know, been united by an intimate mutual understanding; and the son, a specialist in a field of science not greatly remote from his, and very near him in religious conviction, social interests, and artistic tastes, was peculiarly qualified to be his biographer.[1] It is difficult not to recall, in the presence of this beautiful harmony, another 'Father and Son', their contemporaries, in whom the encounter of humanism and natural science became a tragic clash, disclosed to the world in a book of somewhat dearly purchased literary charm.[2]

During the London years also began that more systematic effort to make the religious teaching of the Sunday Schools more in keeping with historic knowledge, for which he had prepared by his lectures to teachers at Leeds. This was the inspiration, and for the most part the occasion, of the series of compact volumes, designed for the educated laity at large, which first made Carpenter's name more widely known, and that far beyond the limits of the Unitarian body —*The First Three Gospels*, *The Bible in the Nineteenth*

[1] If it has a fault, it is the excessive modesty which has left wholly without record or suggestion the son's part in this intimate relation. The biographer of the son has just reason to complain almost bitterly of a reticence which has left us to infer his own birth, and even his existence altogether, from other evidence, and has allowed barely a hint of the home life to escape into his severely impersonal pages.

[2] The death of Sir Edmund Gosse, since this was written, makes it needless to disguise an allusion not perhaps transparent to some readers.

Century, *The Historical Jesus and the Theological Christ*, *The Place of Christianity among the Religions*, and others. The situation, both for the friends of religion and the friends of scientific theology, was confessedly difficult. The assault upon the traditional beliefs about the Bible was loudly declared to threaten moral chaos and the destruction of all religion. Carpenter was peculiarly qualified to meet these doubts. In a simple, luminous, unpretentious style he presented a statement of the facts which captured assent by easy charm as well as by apparent cogency; and the hearer brought up in another creed often did not realize how radically different was the position to which he had been so persuasively led from that out of which he had been half unconsciously drawn. And if he turned to ask in alarm whether this innovation in theology was not also an innovation in religion he was apt, if he was penetrating and candid, to be disarmed by the transparent passion for the Christian spirit which breathed through this unfamiliar teaching about Christ. And it must be understood that Carpenter's persuasiveness was no result of compromise. As Wicksteed aptly remarked, Carpenter had the art of stating the most radical propositions with a tact and delicacy which half convinced the most conservative hearers.[1] He stood here in striking contrast, in method as in aim, with a contemporary defender of orthodoxy of far wider popular repute, F. W. Farrar. Farrar wrote a *Life of Christ* commended to the uncritical palate by the flamboyant style of the popular journalism of that day. He posed as a Liberal interpreting the theology of the Churches to the modern world. But he retained

[1] Professor Huxley, in a private letter to him, acknowledging his *First Three Gospels*, pleasantly remarked, to the same effect, that he 'said the most damaging things in a way so gentle that the orthodox reader must feel like the eels who were skinned by the fair Molly,—lost between pain and admiration'.

everything essential to that theology, and his modern manner merely served to reassure his orthodox hearers by showing, as they and perhaps the author himself imagined, that they could be orthodox and modern at the same time.

VI

By his marriage Carpenter's opportunities of adding social to his professorial and scholarly work were naturally much increased, and he used them to the full. A busy professor, with three vast and exacting studies to command, might well hesitate, on quite unselfish grounds—as his private letters show that he did—to undertake work so onerous and in part so mechanical, as that of the Secretary of the Domestic Mission. This office, however, he filled until the removal to Oxford, and no one ever had reason to suspect that its duties were the less punctiliously or the less enthusiastically carried out because the secretary had begun the day with the Buddhist Scriptures. In 1882 Carpenter opened the Mission at Rhyl Street, Kentish Town, which throughout its course made exacting demands upon his time, strength, and purse. The care for it sometimes curtailed or postponed a sorely needed holiday. 'Besides the calls of the Essex Hall lectures,' he wrote to a former student, in June 1887, 'there is £400 to be raised for Rhyl Street enlargements. All must be settled before I go away, i.e. I must stay till it is settled.'

In March 1880 Mr. George Buckton died, and Mrs. Buckton, in the following spring, took up her permanent residence with the Carpenters, who had now moved to a larger house at Hampstead. Here began efforts on a larger scale to bring the students of the College under those influences outside their professional study which had always meant so much to Carpenter himself. In particular, the culture of poetry

was carried on by those Sunday evening readings which became for thirty years a recognized and cherished institution of the Carpenter home.

The beautiful life in the London home, Leathes House, on FitzJohn's Avenue, left glowing memories with those who were privileged to share it, whether as passing guests or as intimate and beloved friends. One of the latter, Mrs. Kuenen, formerly Dora Wicksteed, wrote to Mrs. Carpenter in a letter already quoted: 'How many lovely memories come up again as I think of him and of you. His figure and voice as he sat at the head of the table and read morning prayers at Leathes House; and the mission parties in the big room downstairs; and reading books in the lovely sunny quiet of your drawing-room, and much more.'

The mission-parties were an especial object of Mrs. Carpenter's care; and we hear of her having 'set her heart on a Christmas play for the Wicksteed girls to act' before an audience of this kind. Leathes House was admirably suited for hospitalities of this kind, a very large room below, with kitchen, being capable of entertaining mission parties of fifty at once; while scholars from Germany or America might be simultaneously discussing erudite problems upstairs. The host was equally at home with both.

The large hospitality practised by all its four professors was a very substantial compensation to the students of Manchester College for their small numbers and limited opportunities. At Martineau's table distinguished guests were usually to be met, doubtless at times a somewhat formidable experience. At Leathes House they were more easily at home. In Carpenter's naturally grave, even austere temperament, there ran a vein of geniality which made him the most delightful of hosts; the scholar so unsparingly severe to himself was full of delicate consideration for others;

and no guest ever complained that he was aloof or abstracted, however urgent the problems might be which had just engaged him in the study. Still, it is true, as one very devoted student later wrote, that though he was the last to frown upon frolic, his student guests did not willingly display their more frivolous humours in his presence; nor did he readily originate humour himself. When this commodity was likely to be in special demand (as well as on countless more important occasions) the party, as he himself pleasantly related, would be arranged to include 'Wicksteed and Odgers to make fun'.

At the Sunday evening gatherings the readings in English poetry were a standing and indispensable feature. Usually the host himself read; but any guest of known literary tastes or note was sure to be invited to take his place. In after days at Oxford, undergraduate hearers sometimes found the atmosphere austere; and the 'earnestness' of these reunions became something of an academic jest, like the internationalism of one famous college, and the *flair* for royalty of another. Carpenter's taste in poetry was wide, but his interest was concentrated in the poets who directly illuminated the life of men, or were rich in inspiration for better living. Wordsworth and Browning held the first place, and the reading of either in a voice whose rich and flexible intonations seemed to make audible the inmost pulsations of a noble soul, was for very many an unforgettable experience.

In music too he had a cultivated taste, and, like his father, without executive skill, a delicate and sensitive touch on the piano. Great music, too, was for him one of the springs of religion and of hope. During the later seventies the inward serenity of Carpenter's laborious life was disturbed by the menacing situation of public affairs. The danger, acute at one time, that England might be drawn into war on the side of

Turkey against Russia, gave him the deepest concern. He found his only consolation in music, 'From these distresses', he wrote, 'I retreat to a certain sanctuary of thought and hear Mendelssohn's "Adagio Religioso" with an inner hearing, and it brings a wonderful calm. The more I reflect upon music, the more wonderful does it appear to me as the witness of a spirit to our spirits, speaking for us the things we cannot utter.'

He delighted in fine architecture too, and among the rare privileges of Manchester College were the excursions to Salisbury or Winchester, organized and led by him, where many obtained their first initiation into Ruskin's gospel of the glory of Gothic.

VII

But Carpenter's relations with his students had a rarer and more intimate side, which demands a section to itself. It was they, throughout his long years of teaching, that took the first place in his creative labour. With that deep personal humility which was one of the most beautiful traits in Carpenter, he rejoiced in an almost fraternal fellowship with men in the twenties, twenty years his junior, and carried on argumentative debate with them, in which he would sometimes declare without a touch of irony—a weapon which he did not readily use, and scarcely perhaps possessed, though by no means without a vein of pleasant chaff—that he had not 'wit' to give a fully reasoned apologia of his faith. To one of these, who was enjoying the rich opportunities of a year at Harvard, he confessed his sense of

> 'the narrowness of my own education, my want of acquaintance with other methods, my want of ability to strike out fresh ones for myself. One has to settle down to satisfaction with mediocrity, and I cannot contentedly acquiesce in this condition. It is poor work writing: how much I would give to see your face but for half-an-hour!'

Sometimes, to the same correspondent, he casts a despondent glance over his own past and future:

'All the things I hope to do are ten or twenty years off. My future plans all make large draughts on time. And meanwhile youth is gone and middle age slipping by. . . . I seem to have learned almost everything too late to do any one thing well.'

Such doubts, at forty-two, are often a symptom of coming failure. The man has really begun too late and really never learns to do anything well. With Carpenter, though he did not yet know it, and his young correspondent very probably took him at his word, that late learning was only the tardy putting in of the sickle for the gathering of an immense harvest; a middle age of comparative sterility that preluded an old age of productiveness unexhausted to the end.

Carpenter's faith in enthusiasm and his own ineradicable hopefulness are often seen in these letters. 'I am glad you have seen Phillips Brooks', he writes to the same correspondent, a man of keenly critical mind:

'if you have come together let him fill you with enthusiasm: the men who do the world's work are the optimists. I mean to do my poor little best, quite certain that in the world's order it will count for as much as it deserves, though I may not see it, and by and by someone else, perhaps you, may go a better way. My dear boy, I am open to conviction, at any rate on some points, though constitution counts for something mental as well as bodily, and I do not think precisely as I did twenty years ago.'

The beautiful relation which bound the older to the younger man is conveyed in the closing sentences of a letter written when the younger was expected home. It was a question of a holiday: 'I should like best', he writes, 'to go quite quietly to some lake side: and then I might have a few golden days boating and bathing with thee. . . . Farewell, ever thy friend.'

Again, at Christmas: 'Think a little of us wherever you are, and remember that chief among the happi-

nesses to which I look forward next year is the prospect of seeing you again.'

But it was not necessary to be a man of scholarly mark to be won by Carpenter's personality. One, confessedly no scholar, but who won the devotion of his congregation, wrote at a time of suffering: 'To have seen him and known him was worth going to Oxford for. Perhaps I remember not one word of his lectures, but I find strength and inspiration from him still.'

VIII

But to these students, and to a host of others, not students only, the most memorable example of Carpenter's large and intimate hospitality to his students, old and young, remained the summer weeks they spent at Leathes Cottage, Borrowdale; and of this something more must now be said. The cottage, situated at the head of Derwentwater, near the grand gateway to Borrowdale, on the east side of the main road, commanded a view, in three directions, of the noblest mountain scenery in the country. The choice of such a spot for a long recurring holiday was as characteristic of the husband and wife as the generous hospitality, in the richest and fullest sense, of which they made it the seat. Carpenter, we know, gloried in the mountains; since early manhood he had spent repeated summers by choice among them, in Scotland, Wales, the Alps, as well as at the Lakes; something near akin to the 'natural religion' of Wordsworth was an intimate part of his own religion. The cottage, taken for eight or nine weeks, was occupied by parties of ten or twelve guests at a time, each staying a week or a fortnight. Forty guests came often in the course of a single summer. This was continued triennially, so that every student in the three years' course had his chance, during the twenty years 1879–99.

The ten or twelve who might thus at any time in

these seasons be found here were mainly students, present and past, of the College; but the latter had now usually become ministers, and came from busy centres of population to recruit a jaded brain and heart in good air and congenial company, with hard walking and lively talk. Sometimes older men would visit the little settlement; Dr. Martineau himself was once a guest, and astonished his host by climbing Scafell (at eighty) 'with perfect ease'. But much younger men found Carpenter's leadership exacting; in physical endurance and enterprise as well as in intimate knowledge of the country he led the way. He was probably nowhere more in his element than when he was striding off with his party for a day on Great Gable or Watendlath fells, or reading aloud after supper, with his wonderfully expressive intonation, from his favourite poets. In wet weather there was time for solid work if any one chose, Carpenter often taking lessons from his own students in favourite subjects of their own. Thus he learnt Italian with keen interest from L. P. Jacks. On other wet days he would get through heavy tasks in Pali. Or a guest, sauntering in to breakfast at eight, and thinking himself early, would find that his host had been busy for two hours with the Buddhist scriptures. Occasionally a graver adventure varied the round of climbs and picnics, walks and talks; to these too the host was splendidly equal. Mr. Copeland Bowie, a frequent guest, tells how one evening news came in that two of the party were lost on Great Gable. Carpenter at once set out with one of the other guests. It was nearly dark when they reached the base of the mountain, and with certain dalesmen groped their way up the slopes, giving at every few paces a united shout. One of the two eventually gave a faint reply, and was found at the bottom of a precipitous slope. Of the other nothing could be heard. Carpenter went back to the cottage, dispatching the student to Keswick for

a doctor, and himself returned at sunrise. The other climber, a London missionary, was then discovered dead. 'On my return I saw in the distance a mournful procession carrying down the dead body of the missionary, Dr. Carpenter, bowed with grief, walking by the side of the stretcher-bearers.'

This gathering of fellow workers in the service of God and man had the freedom and unrestraint of a holiday party. But for many who took part in it it had also, or even more, the quality of a Retreat: a time of spiritual recovery and refreshment interposed in their busy lives. There were opportunities for silence as for talk, for devout communion as for jest and argument. One of Carpenter's older friends, Brooke Herford, who with his wife spent a week at Leathes Cottage in August 1885, wrote a few sentences to him afterwards which perfectly convey the spirit which reigned there:

'I wanted to write, anyhow, to tell you how sweetly the week in your Borrowdale home lies in my memory! So beautiful alike for perfect weather, perfect scenery, perfect human companionship with friends old and new, just the sort of friends for such a resting time, with whom one could talk or be silent, have freest fun, or just as naturally get such close deep converse as made Sunday the crown of the week! I shall not soon forget that hour of morning worship, nor your own deep helpful words on my favourite text!'

Another aspect of these gatherings is beautifully touched by another colleague. The late Enfield Dowson wrote after a visit that same August:

'The walks were exactly to my taste. Nothing does me so much good as to get on the hillside and breathe the upper air. It has been a great pleasure to me to meet the students at your house, and to see the happiness you give them. I can never express my sense of all you do for them, making your home theirs, not only in Cumberland but in London, whenever they need special care. It must be delightful to do so much good as you do.'

One who later occupied a distinguished chair in philosophy had returned home from the peaceful seclusion of Borrowdale to find London (July 1885) in uproar at the revelations of W. T. Stead. He wrote to Carpenter in a white-heat of indignation. Cumberland was remote, but some of its virtue had gone with the passionate invoker of a 'new Puritanism'.

'For my own poor part, I can only write a sermon, and put into it such force as I have brought with me, from converse with God's hills and lakes. . . . I am sorry to send you this, now that I have written it, in your quiet cottage by the Lake, but you can't get out of the world even there, and I know you don't want to. For the rest, the kindness of yourself and Mrs. Carpenter was unspeakable, and can only be laid up by me as an example to follow at a great distance in the future.'

A lively picture of the daily goings-on there was given after Carpenter's death by one who had first presented himself to Carpenter with no other introduction than a note saying that he intended to prepare for the ministry. He remembered vividly

'our sturdy host, well-shod for rough work, at a fine pace despite his years, up hill and down dale! Setting off with us after breakfast on some choice excursion of his own devising; breaking bread with us on the mountain-top at lunch-time; sharing our laughter and light-heartedness, and even tolerating our flippancies; leaving us afterwards with instructions, while he returned home direct to resume his labours on Pali texts. Alas that occasionally we proved less energetic than he expected us to be!'

In pathetic contrast with this picture of Carpenter among the mountains in his prime, is the letter which he wrote to the same correspondent, forty years later, a month before his death:

'. . . I do not expect to see a mountain again, except with the eye of memory, so I am especially grateful for the recital of your walks. The attack of five weeks ago made me an old man, and my walking days are over. But there is enough within sight of my windows to enable me to enjoy the spring, and even in bed to say 'How beautiful it is to be alive!'

IX

And this moving last reminiscence of the Borrowdale days may lead us to ask, lastly, what they meant to the chief participant—Carpenter himself. We have said that nowhere else was he more in his element. But that imperfectly describes what he found in them. At the close of the summer of 1879, the first spent, with a party, at Leathes Cottage, and the first since his marriage, he wrote to his young wife:

'I think this summer will count as almost the most helpful to me of any time in my life. Everything seems to have grown so much deeper and richer. Much of it springs out of the freedom and happiness of our Borrowdale weeks. There was a lightness, a quality of sympathy, a sense of pervading delight running through them all,—the deepening of friendship as restraint was broken down.'

The guests, that summer, were almost all his own students.

'Then there were infinitely varied experiences all blended in ineffable beauty, which seemed to grow into my heart more and more every day. Never, I think, have I felt such personal communion with the inner life of things as I have done this time. Never did common sights and simple sounds yield so much interest or send so much gladness into my ordinary thoughts. . . . I have not felt strength come to me in such fulness of joy since, two years ago, it began to make itself known, and hint in a dim far-off way at what it might become hereafter.'

He felt braced for trial, and fortified with instinct for wise choice. 'All this and a great deal more has long been running through my head, and is very closely mingled with memories of storm and calm at the Lakes.'

The great scenery of Lakeland, thus passionately loved, was indeed one of the springs of Carpenter's religion. Here, at least, the mystic in him had not to struggle for mastery, but reigned in secure ecstatic calm. Here Wordsworth's 'natural religion' spoke to

him in the very speech, the very silence, which had begotten it in the heart of Wordsworth himself. But Carpenter's mysticism went, in effortless and even unconscious accord, with a rich and joyous humanity which we miss in Wordsworth even when he stands lost in awe before the unfathomable mind of man, or speaks trumpet-tongued for the struggling or fallen hero. In the mind and heart of man for Carpenter too, assuredly, there rolled that 'something far more deeply interfused' which he divined in the woods and hills, in the round ocean and the living air. But between that mystic awe before the mind of man, that exultation in heroism, and the glad and continual companionship with men and women, young and old, wise and simple, there lay for Wordsworth a barrier of temperament and circumstance, which Carpenter daily passed and repassed with genial ease.

Of circumstance as well as temperament. Yet Carpenter's long life of crowded social intercourse and rich social opportunity put his faith to severer tests than any to which Wordsworth's recluse life, despite his open eye for public and national welfare, and the moods in which he 'knew not where to look for comfort', exposed him. 'Sorrow barricadoed within the walls of Cities', which the poet of Rydal contemplated, but, whether as man or as poet, scarcely faced, came daily within Carpenter's ken. And precisely when he was far removed from its presence or suggestion, in these hours and days of supreme happiness among the mountains, the exclusion of the vast majority from the possibility of such experience as his, weighed upon him as a problem which he could neither solve nor put aside.

'V. and I,' he writes in a letter, 'walked up and down the road while the last lights played on the hill tops, and I felt that tender sadness which comes with quitting a place one loves, deepened by the thought of the hundreds and thousands living

in close rooms and crowded courts who not only never see the things that we have seen, but would not know their meaning if they did. This is never far from me in the midst of beautiful scenery, with all its infinite variety of revelation. So intense is my enjoyment of it, so much does it mean to me, why cannot others share it?'

The thought that others could not share it was indeed, with Carpenter, no passing regret, but a persistent pressure, compelling action, however infinitesimal its apparent effect. His intellect found no solution for the problem, but it never ceased to haunt his conscience.

But a change was approaching which if it did nothing to lessen the urgency of this problem, brought others into view, and opened up a host of unforeseen and fruitful opportunities. In February 1889 the Trustees decided, after long and difficult debate, to remove the College from London to Oxford. Carpenter fully concurred, but, as the youngest of the professors, would willingly have held aloof from the decision. His counsel however, was too highly valued to be spared, and he was urged by the Trustees to attend the meeting, which he with reluctance did.

V

MANCHESTER COLLEGE

II.—OXFORD

I

THE transfer of the College in 1889 from London to Oxford was a bold and even daring act, and Carpenter was one of those who, though in favour of it, saw and felt the hazards most acutely. But the hazards that he feared were the loss of the opportunities for missionary work, offered by a great city, and as indispensable as scholarship, in the eyes of the founder of the Rhyl Street mission, to the future minister. The fear that a college not merely Nonconformist but repudiating any dogmatic basis, would, in Anglican Oxford, be left in an isolation as complete, and more hostile, than it had suffered in the ignorance or indifference of London, did not seriously weigh with him at all. He was destined to be himself the most powerful of the personal forces which within a few years proved such fears groundless. And in fact this risk was far less formidable than it would have been even twenty years before. The acute hostility to all modern and liberal ways of theology which had been generated by the 'Oxford Movement' was not extinct. But the Oxford of Pusey had been succeeded by the Oxford of Green and of Jowett. The catholic and medieval side of Christianity had, for many authoritative minds, fallen into the background; the miraculous elements of orthodox Christology, where they were not openly surrendered, ceased to be emphasized. Under such conditions the barriers which divided Unitarianism from Anglicanism, as represented by the most intellectual and spiritual minds of both, could

be overstepped or ignored without any severe exercise of social courage. Jowett was an intimate friend of Martineau. T. H. Green had died nine years before, but his personality and philosophy were still a living force within and far beyond the university, and their influence told powerfully in favour of a religion of the spirit, disengaged from dogma, and expressed in the energetic service of Man.

In an Oxford where this attitude of mind in spiritual things had won deep respect if it did not yet command authority, a college like Manchester could not remain completely estranged. Mansfield College had created a precedent for a non-Anglican home of religion and religious training, in the University if not of it. The status of Mansfield in the religious life of Oxford had been notably furthered by the great personality of A. M. Fairbairn, its head. Manchester College had in its London home been guided by the yet greater personality of James Martineau. Martineau indeed stood, by general admission, in the highest rank of English religious thinkers. The noble crowning expressions of his lifelong reflection upon religion and ethics, the *Types of Ethical Theory* (1885) and *A Study of Religion* (1888), had been published by the Oxford University Press. Three months after the former publication an address, signed by more than 600 representatives of all shades of opinion, had been offered to him on his eightieth birthday, of which the keynote was this sentence of the Master of Balliol: 'You have taught your generation that both in politics and religion, there are truths above party, independent of contemporary opinion, and which cannot be overthrown, for their foundations are in the heart of man.'

But Martineau, who was opposed to the move to Oxford, had resigned his Principalship four years before, and none of those who now guided the fortunes of the college could pretend as yet to a position of

eminence comparable to his. The *Philo* of Drummond, published in the previous year, made an epoch in the study of that subject, but had little effect outside the circle of scholars; the capital work of Carpenter was still to be done. There remained, moreover, the solid phalanx of conservative Anglicanism to which the admission of all qualified persons, whatever their doctrinal views, to the College class-rooms and library, still seemed the policy of a latitudinarian indifference to religion. The Catholic faith as they understood it was almost the antithesis of that fundamental principle of Baxterian Catholicity, for which Manchester College, as Martineau said, for a hundred years had stood: 'All knowledge good; all conscience free; no restrictions to be put on either under the plea of religion or for the sake of a superficial uniformity of theological conception.' It had been precisely the stubborn and apparently invincible resistance of Oxford to this principle which had made Martineau the determined opponent of removal. If, in the course of the generation which ensued, the hostile influences encountered by the College at the outset were notably softened, and the friendly ones powerfully reinforced, the result was due above all to the personalities of its Oxford guides and teachers, and not least, by general admission to that of the Vice-Principal, the subject of this memoir. Of the saintly beauty of the mind and character of the Principal, James Drummond, we have already spoken. With a like saintly beauty there went, in Estlin Carpenter, a larger measure of the qualities of temperament which lubricate social intercourse, and open channels of fruitful communication with men of other faiths. In the conciliatory process we refer to, the scholar and the man had a like, and perhaps equal, part. The study of religions had, since Max Müller, been at home in Oxford. Max Müller himself was still in residence there, engaged in his great work of

editing the *Sacred Books of the East.* He remained till his death one of Carpenter's closest Oxford friends. The most illustrious of English anthropologists, E. B. Tylor, an old friend of Carpenter's, was director of the Oxford Museum; and the scientific impartiality which the study insensibly engendered had done much to temper among its students the partisanships of theology. The exclusive rightness of your own creed became harder to maintain when analogous phenomena were being daily discovered among races who had never heard of Christ, still less of the Church of England; or who, like the Buddhists, had produced saints without the aid of theism. The gulf between a Unitarian and an Anglican became, for such men, easy to step over or even entirely to overlook. Estlin Carpenter's keen interest in the new science, and already wide knowledge of it, soon became known to men of this type in Oxford, many of them in Anglican orders; and his study was a frequent resort of A. H. Sayce, Sanday, Hatch, and Driver. A more definite and significant meeting-ground for men of this temper was, from 1891, the 'Society of Historical Theology',—the old Taylerian of the London period reconstituted in that year in Oxford. Most of these men were concerned in varying degrees with the Society's chief undertaking—the edition of *The Oxford Hexateuch*, published in 1900. Carpenter's editorial share in the work is described in a later chapter of this book. Such men easily reached a compromise in which a sincere Christian faith held its ground while the diversities among Christian denominations fell into the background. And it was then felt as an added attraction in Carpenter that this keen scholar in a study often associated with open indifference to all personal religion, was also a man of pronounced and pervading religious faith. As the years went on, and Carpenter gradually achieved the highest rank among the Oxford

specialists in comparative religion, so suffused was his life with both these characters, that the two became inseparable in Oxford's judgement of him; and both were to be equally prominent in the tributes of love and veneration offered by many of the finest minds among her men and women on his death.

At Oxford the College did indeed possess one point of appeal—where it was not an additional ground of offence; it acquired for the first time a beautiful home. There were doubtless persons who resented this pretension of Unitarians to share in the Gothic Revival, when they refused to be otherwise heirs of the Middle Ages, or of the Catholic Church. But Unitarians had been among the first nonconformists to repudiate what the critics of Puritanism were wont to call its faith in ugliness as a condition of worship. To no one certainly did the possession of a chapel where those who believed beauty to be instinct with divinity could find satisfaction for their needs, mean more than to Carpenter. The man who had carried off his students on excursions to the old cathedral towns, and taught them, in the spirit of Ruskin, to perceive the mysterious loveliness of Gothic architecture at Salisbury and Winchester, had now a shrine imagined in the same spirit and consecrated to his own faith.

Nor was this all. To his deeply ingrained instinct for historical affinities it was not indifferent that Manchester College was thus inwoven by the subtle thread of its architecture in the historic vesture of English Christianity. Certainly, as the years went on, this Oxford shrine became to him a place peculiarly precious, inarticulately symbolic, like the historic cathedrals, like the mountains, of divine things, yet also the place of his own highest and holiest life-work.

Yet this reverence for historic continuity never hardened into traditionalism. Precisely because the College services meant so much to him he was ready

to modify them where they seemed imperfectly responsive to the needs of those who worshipped or who sought their help. It meant that, in at least one case, finding a wish to experiment with a higher type of marriage-service, he accepted for use, in this case, in the chapel a form which had been thought out by the intending husband and wife, but which, as the husband gratefully wrote later, could not have been carried out without Carpenter's 'creative assistance'.[1]

II

Soon after the close of the session 1888–9 the Carpenters moved to Oxford. Their first home, at 109 Banbury Road, was, like their second and last in Marston Ferry Road, situated in what was then the fringe of the northern suburb, largely occupied by the pleasant houses and gardens of university dons. In these two homes the remaining thirty-seven years of Carpenter's life were to be spent. He was now, at forty-five, in the full vigour of his prime. The portrait by Emslie, painted just before leaving London, gives a lively impression of ripe intellectual and physical power, but conveys less vividly the spiritual intensity of the preacher so striking in the portrait of his last years.

Carpenter's entire life during these almost forty years was, if we look for dramatic or sensational happenings, extraordinarily even, regular, and tranquil. But the tranquillity was that of an engine, of perfect efficiency, immense velocity, and corresponding output. His day was ordered by exact rules calculated, so it might seem, to secure the utmost economy in the

[1] It may be recorded here, as a mark at once of Carpenter's zeal for beauty and of his citizenship, that he intervened, very early in his Oxford residence, to save some fine trees on the Banbury Road. They continued to flourish until the War.

arrangement of duties and the distribution of time. He rose before seven, did an hour's work before breakfast, and then normally a full morning's work, in study or lecture-room, before lunch. The correspondence of the day would be dispatched in the evening, steadily increasing from the time when, in London, he had written: 'this is my seventeenth letter this evening'; all in the elegant script which most busy men hold in disdain.

Of the routine of college lectures this is not the place to speak. Of the calls which summoned him with growing frequency to all parts of England, to lecture, to preach, or to plead for needy causes, something will be said in a later section of this memoir.

His diversions were as regular as his work, and sometimes brought him nearer to the understanding and sympathy of unlearned Oxford. For some twenty-five years (up to his first operation in 1920) he was accustomed to ride or drive, often with one of his men as companion. Or he might be met striding in high boots like a country squire along the Banbury road at that formidable pace that often left his students breathless in Borrowdale. The Oxford country-side is not exciting to a mountain-lover, but for Carpenter's large apprehension the House of Nature had many mansions, and on his return from an autumn ride across the rather featureless meadows he would remark, 'How good are these November fields! They are reposing after harvest!'

But the Oxford country-side had other compensations. Often the goal of his ride would be some village church, or a group of churches. He found a congenial companion often in one of his old students or younger colleagues, not seldom in the excellent and widely reputed livery-stable keeper from whom he hired his mount. Together they rode too, during vacations, on longer excursions of several days, in quest at once of

scenery and churches, covering a large area of south-midland and southern England, or even of Wales. Nature and history also usually determined the direction of the travel which continued to occupy several weeks of the Long Vacation. The Borrowdale parties were discontinued after 1902, but in his journeys with Mrs. Carpenter, strenuous visits to the historic cities of Italy and Germany usually alternated with more restful sojourns in Norway or Switzerland; the happenings of each day being still recorded in small note-books with the same minute care as of old.

It is not easy to convey a just impression of Carpenter's enormously full day, so methodically were its component parts inlaid in the twenty-four hours, so readily did he, none the less, find room among them for a new act of service or kindness. Nor did he fret at the acuter tension. He only expressed, under various figures, his sense that the duties of the day were very tightly packed. 'The days do not pass away', he would say; 'that is too mild a word a great deal. They are pushed, driven, hunted into the past, with hard knocks for being so short and stubborn and unyielding.'

But if Carpenter never turned away an applicant, he well knew that no amount of individual labour will fill the abyss of social need, and that the paradox which never ceased to trouble his religion, why he should live in comfort and so many others in want, was not to be solved in that way. 'All the home happiness makes me often feel that we do not do enough to help individuals. And yet I know not how to take on more work.' For once that plea, so frequently heard, was profoundly true.

III

The work which filled these busy days and years was on the whole only a fuller and richer development of that which had occupied him in London, and even at Leeds. Of few men of his distinction could it be said that he was growing all the time, with aims only more perfectly defined and more largely fulfilled, even after passing, still strong and laborious, but not without sorrow, the mark of fourscore.

There were, indeed, in the long period of his Oxford residence, variations in the abundance of his scholarly output, resulting from changes in his official duties at the College. These may for clearness be recorded here. During the first ten years (1889–99) he held the Vice-Principalship and his full professorship. In 1899 he resigned these, retaining only the Case Lectureship in Comparative Religion. The seven years which intervened before his assumption of the Principalship, in 1906, were a peculiarly fruitful time; to these years belong the completion of the Harford-Battersby Hexateuch, and the Life of Martineau. To the years following his retirement from the Principalship, in 1915, belong his Harvard Lectures on the History of Religions, his Jowett Lectures on Buddhism and Christianity, and, in his eightieth year, the Hibbert Lectures on Theism in Medieval India. His last book, on the Johannine writings, appeared only in the February preceding his death.

Of most of this work an account will be given in the essays which follow this memoir. Some of it was designed for more scholarly, some for more popular audiences. But there was no sharp line of cleavage. Carpenter had no esoteric teaching, no select doctrines reserved for the more 'advanced' few, nor did his methods become looser or his scholarship less exact when he was writing for Sunday-school teachers than

when he was addressing his colleagues in oriental or biblical study.

A few sentences must suffice to characterize his most considerable literary work outside these fields, his *Life of James Martineau* (1906). Carpenter's presentment of his teacher is a remarkably clear and faithful study of a spiritual history very unlike his own; one in which the mind might be watched fighting its way from position to position, and sometimes, as Carpenter says, repelling with peculiar energy the rejected creed; a mind more swift, agile, fiery and passionate, more imaginative and poetic, more instinctively metaphysical, more critical, both of science and of democracy, than his own; yet, through all the transitions of its more dynamic process, preserving the clear intensity of spiritual vision which the disciple, throughout his more gradual and even development, never lost.

During his first period of relative freedom from College duties, Carpenter's reputation and authority as a scholar had steadily grown. In 1901 he acted as President of the International Council of Liberal Religious Thinkers, held in London. Two years later the same body, at Amsterdam, invited him to contribute the address which became the nucleus of his classical book on the Place of Christianity among the Religions. He twice crossed the Atlantic to deliver courses of lectures on the History of Religions at Harvard. As early as 1894 he had gone there as Special Preacher. 'I should like to go', he is reported to have said to his wife after receiving the first invitation, 'I shall never preach in the University Church here.' But Oxford too began to recognize with emphasis (though not precisely in this way) the great scholar who was living and working in her midst. In 1908, when the third Congress of Religions met there, Carpenter was appointed to act as Joint Secretary with Dr. Farnell: the beginning of a friendship of which a memorial

happily remains in the present volume. In 1914 he was appointed to the Wilde University Lecturership in Comparative Religion. A triennial Summer School in Theology, twice organized by Dr. Carpenter, was held, by permission of the President of Trinity College, in its hall. When in 1915 he resigned the Principalship, Oxford led the way in marking her sense of the significance of the event by an address and dinner at St. John's. She had already, in 1906, made him an honorary Doctor of Literature; she eventually (1923) made him one of her Doctors of Divinity; Glasgow, Jena, and Geneva had already testified by similar acts that Carpenter was honoured beyond the bounds of England. Such were among many signs that Carpenter, by character and personality no less than by learning and scholarship, was exercising that power as a mediating influence between his own College and the University, which was attested by so many of his Oxford friends after his death.

Curiosity, doubtless, not seldom drew the steps of don or undergraduate to the chapel services, or to the public lectures, in which the editor of the Hexateuch and the author of the fascinating little Home and University volume on Comparative Religion might often be heard. We will suppose that such a hearer from academic Oxford found himself present at the remarkable lecture addressed by Carpenter to the members of the College, at the opening of the Session of 1905, on Christianity in the Light of the Historical Sciences. As well perhaps as any other of his writings this would provide a hearer, interested both in Christianity and scholarship, with a clue to Carpenter's life work. He would be arrested by the declaration at the outset (quoted from Prof. Chantre, of Geneva, with complete acceptance by Carpenter), that Unitarianism is not a denial of any dogma, but an assertion of dogmatic freedom; by the vindication of religion as greater than dogma. And even at this early point he would

find an illuminating comparison with another religion, —the example of the earlier and the later forms of Buddhism—diverse as agnosticism and catholicism—established and pursued side by side, centuries ago, in the great Indian university of Nālandā. But more radical propositions followed. Not only were the non-Christian religions withdrawn from the universal condemnation pronounced upon them by the Catholic and Anglican articles as 'all false'; not only were they allowed each one its measure of relative truth; Christianity itself was not to be regarded, in any form, as an exhaustive and absolute expression of religion. There was no absolute religion. Christianity as it lives in our creeds had still to be disengaged from the accretions due to the local and temporal circumstances of its origin. And beyond Israel and its hopes, beyond Christ and his promises, lay a host of religious phenomena, of which the labour of the last thirty years had only touched the surface. Parallels to the story of Jesus, as it took shape in the imagination of the early Church, were everywhere to be found. He would hear the wonderful story of the analogous development of Buddhism in India, China, and Japan unfolded in large but precise and significant outline.

Then by a swift, even abrupt, transition the lecture turned from Japan to the Christianity at our doors. It might seem that, under the same historical analysis, the Christ of theology was being dissolved away, so unsparingly was he stripped of the accretions gathered in the ages. But then came another change, and when the speaker asked: 'What then is left?' and replied: 'Jesus himself,' it at once became plain how secure we were in this man's hands from the analysis which resolves precious things into worthless elements. Christianity was understood as the religion of Jesus, 'a type of spiritual life which communicates itself to his followers and is reproduced more or less fully in

them; a type of life which is above all intensely ethical and profoundly social.'

Ordinary words enough. But they serve sufficiently to denote the clear flame of the Christian spiritual life which informed the life and preaching of this master of comparative religion. It is not unknown, but it is certainly rare, for men who live laborious days and nights in pursuing into its last recesses the historic and scientific groundwork of a religion, to give themselves with the same whole-heartedness, to realizing it in their lives. In Estlin Carpenter this rare union was accomplished with a beautiful and unconscious simplicity. It cannot indeed be said that the hiatus between his comparative religion and his practical Christianity was so sharp as it seemed to those who saw him hurry from Pali texts to a Sunday school party. Vast as the field of the eastern religions were in which he chose to labour, his fine religious sense apprehended something which appealed to him in forms of faith historically and dogmatically extraordinarily unlike. And in that great Buddhist religion to which he gave an almost life-long devotion he found, with less of direct spiritual inspiration, an ethical intensity and missionary zeal not inferior to that which for him were inseparable from the soul of Christianity.

Carpenter's life at Oxford was but the full manifestation of the man whom those who knew him best had always divined. Even less than in his earlier phases can it be understood unless we grasp the intimate nexus which bound together the different elements of his religious, social, and intellectual life. Indefatigable study of religions and profound personal religion, spiritual vision and social energy, mystical intensity and international zeal, may and do exist apart. In him they seemed to spring from the same root, to be watered from the same source.[1]

[1] His rich and many-sided spirit exercised a deep attraction upon

IV

We are thus not entering upon a new topic, but only adding something necessary for the full understanding of that already before us, if we turn to those apparently detached lines of activity in which he became of note to many who scarcely knew him in any other capacity. We must confine ourselves to two: social work and internationalism.

It was his recognized interest and authority in social work that led to his being invited, in 1911, to inaugurate the foundation, at the University of Liverpool, of a School of Social Science and of Training for Social Work. His address is a masterly survey of the rapid growth of the view that these ought to be a part of university training. His own Oxford, as he confesses, was sadly behind in this; yet, soon after, 1,200 undergraduates met there to affirm that personal experience in a Settlement should be regarded as a normal part of an Oxford career. That our modern civilization rests upon grim and brutal facts of poverty scarcely disturbs the equanimity of many a scholar whose intellectual and scholarly conscience is as keen and exacting as Carpenter's. It demands of them only the labour for science or for letters that they do, and is satisfied if this is done. Carpenter's conscience was less easily satisfied; not because his abstract sense of duty was more comprehensive or more acute, or because his heart was larger, or his sensibility finer, but rather because his whole life and being was inspired by a religion of which social service and the service of truth by scholarship were equally integral parts.

many, not in England only, who felt the need of reinforcing at some point their own or their country's spiritual life. A Danish lady, who had met him in Oxford, wrote to him, in 1907, from her Danish home, with a view to sending a young Danish theological student to study at the College: 'To my eye this country is seething with religious interest, and being fed with theology instead of with living religion, starving.'

In the same way it was not an accident but almost a corollary of Carpenter's religion that he stood throughout his life, and not least in the years of the Great War which put it to so stern a test, for the International ideal. Manchester College itself became, and not only during his principalship, a powerful promoter of internationalism. 'If I am now what I am, a Christian worker for Human Peace', wrote a French former student who had passed from the Secretariate of the League of Nations to the still more important work of the 'Institut International de Coopération intellectuelle', 'it is chiefly to England and Oxford and Manchester College, and *especially* to you, that I owe it.' He saw war both from the scholar's and from the citizen's point of view. All branches of study are now internationalized. His own volumes on the religions of India bore witness on every page to the co-operation of Indian with European scholarship. But the ideal of international peace, needless to say, as Carpenter understood it, went far deeper than the advantages, economic or intellectual, of co-operation. Here too he looked, in his address to the National Peace Congress at Westminster, 1912—and with a confidence which a few years later might have been abated—to the Universities for the promotion of international peace. His was the true pacifism, a form of heroism which repudiates War. The heroic strain was too vital in himself to allow him to deny that 'the fighting instinct that lives in all of us must find its proper object'. But that proper object—the enemies of the body politic, ignorance, want, disease, and crime—was always at hand. No one who knew Carpenter could dream that Peace for him meant quiescence of any sort. It meant ceaseless energy, both of heart, and thought, and will. But it meant much more. In the diversities of nations, as of religions, he saw nourishing springs of wholeness and richness in our own souls. Peaceful intercourse,

free communication, was a condition under which alone these nourishing springs could flow. No one welcomed more warmly, or more outspokenly, than he those movements among the young which, like the Student Christian Movement, successfully overcame the barriers to international intercourse rendered doubly formidable by the War. Needless to add that when the War, to him an experience of almost overwhelming horror, was over, he was one of those who found in the League of Nations a ground of renewed and ardent hope for the cause of internationalism.

Nor was Carpenter's internationalism an affair of sympathy or sympathetic preaching only. He had all the gifts of a great organizer added to those of a great apostle. The first meeting of International Liberal thinkers, held in London in 1901, owed its extraordinary success, by general testimony, to Carpenter, its President, and the life and soul of the meetings. Believing profoundly that no religion is complete and final, he was unwearied in arranging conferences, congresses, Summer Schools, in which, as in the Summer Schools of Oxford already mentioned, representatives of Catholic and Protestant, German, French, Scandinavian religion, listened to expositions of the faith of others, or expounded their own. We are indebted to Dr. W. H. Drummond for the following note upon the Summer Schools:

'Among Dr. Carpenter's other contributions to the spirit of closer fellowship in religion, the Summer School of Theology at Oxford must always hold an important place. Ministers of various denominations all over the country are deeply in his debt for the opportunities of intellectual stimulus and spiritual refreshment which it offered them. From the beginning he took the burden of organization and correspondence on himself, while his intimate acquaintance with religious thought and learning in other lands enabled him to secure the help of eminent scholars from abroad whose presence always gave a note of

special distinction to the School. He was never more happy than in the short addresses with which it was his custom to introduce the lecturers. They will be remembered by all who had the privilege of hearing them as models of concise and apposite speech. It was the enthusiasm and simple friendliness with which he thus threw himself into every detail of the work which were the real secret of its success. In a quite remarkable way his own personality was the living centre of unity for a large group of men, drawn together it is true by a common interest in the study of religions, but separated at other times by grave differences in denomination or in creed.'

It was, moreover, a marked and beautiful trait of Carpenter, that his catholicity, while always prompting him to fellowship with other forms of religion, and to a sincere and humble faith that his own had something to learn from them, never diminished his loyalty to his own, or his tender and self-sacrificing solicitude for its interests. No one could accuse him of the kind of cosmopolitanism which is concerned for every cause but its own. He never boggled over the name Unitarian, repellent to so many. And while his larger policy looked to a spiritual approximation between East and West through Christianity and Buddhism, he watched with the warmest interest over the scattered Unitarian communities, in England and India. Among all these he came to exercise, as the years went on, an unofficial but real apostolate. No one else, above all, could speak to Europe of the liberal religions of India, and to India of the liberal religion of Europe, with equal authority and persuasiveness.

And Carpenter was not one of those apostles who ignore the economic basis of spiritual life. He worked indefatigably for the Sustentation Fund of the Unitarian ministry, travelled all over the country preaching, speaking, begging as few but he could beg, and sometimes in spite of severe physical suffering. It will not be

forgotten how he stood on the platform at Sheffield, during one of his later illnesses, to plead for the Ministers' Pension Fund.

V

All these features are exemplified in the branch of International religion which will always be peculiarly identified with the name and memory of Estlin Carpenter—his relations with the Churches of Liberal religion in the East, and particularly in India and Japan. His intimate connexions, in the first place with India, have already been touched on at various points, but they may be briefly summarized here.

The Carpenter family had early shown active interest in the Indian preachers of a theistic faith. Dr. Lant Carpenter, Estlin's grandfather, had joined in the welcome extended by the English Liberal Churches to Rammohun Roy in 1831–3; and his daughter Mary, then a girl, probably received from that visit the first impulse to her beneficent social work for the women of India.

When Carpenter entered on his ministry at Clifton, in 1865–6, Mary Carpenter, as we saw, was about to return to her Indian work. At Leeds he set the ladies of the congregation to work upon clothing and other comforts for her Indian friends, and on her return there in 1875, at the close of another visit to England, she took with her a collection of parcels, the fruit of their kindly industry.

Even before the scholar's intellect had been seriously attracted to Indian studies, or the Christian who felt his own faith only enriched by insight into alien faiths had begun to examine the religious philosophy of Buddha, he was watching with eager interest the efforts of scattered groups in India to kindle there a modern worship analogous to the Christian theism of the West.

Carpenter's most complete expression of his ideal for Indian religion was the Sermon ('The Opportunity of the East') preached at Essex Hall, in 1912, on the eighty-second anniversary of the Brahmo-Somâj—a truly great and memorable utterance. Here was no 'missionary', bent upon winning India to Christ, but a great interpreter and reconciler, who saw in the thousand religions of India different manifestations of the one mysterious and awful Being whom the Brahmo-Somâj was seeking to worship in spirit and in truth. The decay of the old religions caused a dilemma to all who wished to preserve religion itself from the same decay. To them Carpenter offered his helpful counsel. Their task was 'on the foundations of immemorial reverence to rear the spiritual temple of new truth'. But the truth was, in one point at least, definitely new, and in conflict with the old. The Indian, holding the traditional doctrine of *karma*, looked with indifference on death, since every man received the meed of his deeds; and, in consequence, acquiesced in the horrible mortality of his country. To the Christian, on the contrary, life was a trust, and death a thing to be fought. This may seem to denote a cleavage between Indian and English ideals. But Carpenter urges that reverence for life is, and implies, reverence for the source of life. 'In the great fight with evil you are called to bear your part; you are bidden to be fellow-workers with the Father. The warfare with ignorance, with suffering, with sin, is in every land a part of the service of God. Hence every true Brahmo, like every true Christian, is bound to be a social reformer.' Thus Carpenter, paying reverent homage to the religious genius of India, which is able, like our own, to create the sense of 'a presence that disturbs us with the joy of elevated thoughts', at the same time disengages it from the power of a non-social superstition. In this conception of a social warfare with sin and ignorance,

carried on in the strength of a divine grace, everywhere and always vouchsafed to those who seek it, Carpenter saw the basis, as one of the subsequent contributors to this volume has aptly said, of a Church at once Liberal Christian and universal, coextensive with the world, open to all the races of man, and having at its very heart faith in the freely given grace of God.

Of Carpenter's Indian friends, and of his vast Indian correspondence, continued to his very last years, only the briefest mention can here be made. One of the most intimate of them, Banerjee (b. 1838), founded (1908) the Devalaya Church Institute (for the free expression of religious views) in Calcutta, and Carpenter became a generous subscriber, collecting a subsidy from the Hibbert Trustees and from the British and Foreign Unitarian Association.

In 1918 Banerjee started the *Quarterly Journal*, issued from the Devalaya, and made somewhat importunate demands on Carpenter for articles. 'I want something from you for every issue', he wrote, 'in the form of a small letter'.

To this Carpenter responded in a letter gratefully acknowledged by the recipient, conveying love and sympathy to the venerable founder, and promising a short monthly article for the review.

In 1919 Banerjee reported that his son 'Albion'[1] had obtained 'an enviable post' in the service of the state of Mysore, and that the Maharaja had made a contribution to the Devalaya funds, and written a sympathetic letter, published in the review. At his request Carpenter also chose selections of books for the Research Library of the Institute; especially lives of 'all Unitarian ministers', and all books relating to

[1] Albion had been born during his and his wife's visit to England, in the house of Mary Carpenter at Bristol. Banerjee justly calls him 'a particle of the Carpenter family'.

Unitarianism. And he suggests that he will specially value a gift of books from Carpenter's own library, 'which I will call a clearance gift'.[1]

[1] Carpenter's Indian friends occupied a large share of his attention in the last years, and his correspondence with them is full of evidence of his generous sympathy. To speak fully of them would be out of place in this brief memoir. But some further details may be added in a note.

Some of his Indian correspondents were men who understood and applied their simple theistic faith with an apostolic intensity uncommon among minds equally instructed in the Western world. Such was Alokananda Mahabharati, of Behar. In September 1921 he sent to Carpenter ('Brother of Mankind') a copy of 'The Master's World Union Scheme', an exposition of a scheme of world union drawn up, in the name of a group of like-minded Indians, by the Master of their society, Thakur Dayananda Deb. The scheme was inspired by impatience with the very slow progress yet made by Europe to a real peace, and the apparent impotence of the League of Nations.

Carpenter replied, in October, with cordial appreciation of the aims of the world scheme, but cautioning his Indian friends against too sanguine hopes. He held, as they did, that conscious realization of the Fatherhood of God with its expression in our conduct to our fellow men was the only guarantee of peace in the world. But he held too that the realization of this state was yet a long way off, and that the generations that will rise before it is reached will be many.

But Mahabharata will not have this. 'I beg in all humility to say that it is not so. . . . The Voice within me tells me clearly and unmistakably that the Day is at hand, notwithstanding the elements of discord and hatred that are still at work. You may not be inclined to accept this as convincing reason for you, but I state this for what it is worth, as I must, and as with me its worth is very, very great.' But 'the Voice' is not only his own ground of assurance. In eight pages of typed script he surveys, with singular mastery of facts and political knowledge, the state of Europe since the War. They wear no glamour in his eyes. Europe is moving fast towards anarchy. But he holds with passionate conviction that the sense of the Brotherhood of Man, notably in India, has been immensely deepened by the great catastrophe; Hindus and Mohammedans have joined hands; we are nearer to the establishment of the World Peace within us; 'and when that is done, all is done'.

Another correspondent in Calcutta, Togendra Ghose, an ardent theist, had written a book intended to fight all superstitions and all atheistic and deistic science and philosophy, and written to Carpenter (Nov. 1921) to acknowledge a letter of friendly sympathy, and inquire

Carpenter's relations with the Japanese Christians were on a smaller scale, but in their results even more interesting. The first Christian Church was established in Tokyo, in the 'seventies, by Mr. Isé, who later adopted his father's name Yokoi. Prominent here too were a father and son, but in this case the son alone was known to Carpenter. The elder Yokoi (born 1808), a large-minded and progressive statesman, had been assassinated, a martyr to his Christian propaganda, in 1869. The son (born 1858), who had studied for some years at American universities, made Carpenter's acquaintance in 1889, and wrote in the following spring from Tokyo, to acknowledge his gift of 'The First Three Gospels'. His letters, preserved with others from him, in Carpenter's correspondence, deserve notice as a remarkable expression of the impact of Christianity upon a fresh, frank, and powerful Japanese mind, eagerly and ardently responsive to Christian faith and teaching, but building them in its own way into the edifice of its own religious life. A passage from one letter (31 May 1890), which on this account must have given Carpenter acute pleasure, not least where Yokoi has found for his religious passion doctrinal symbols other than those of his master, is too striking to be lost. It is given in a note below.[1]

'whether there are many believers, in England and in Europe, in the religion of the Personal God, who do not recognize incarnations, the trinity, pantheism, and the like'. He will feel obliged if Carpenter will kindly give him the names of some of the best of such men in Europe and America. 'I shall like to make their acquaintance.'

[1] 'I am more and more drawn to Jesus and the power of his Word. To me he, not any other man, and he alone, is the key to the solution of the mystery of the existence of the universe. No man felt the pangs of sorrow more keenly than he. Yet he believed in the good men of God. No man was placed in more adverse circumstances than he, yet his faith in his mission failed not to the very last. No man, no good man, was ever thrown into more intimate relations with sinners than he, yet he ever was as pure and spotless as snow. To me he is more wonderful than any of his great miracles, greater than any of his great

VI

The Oxford years (1889–1927), covering roughly half Carpenter's long life, were, as we have seen, rich in the things that 'should accompany old age', as well as in others that old age seldom so completely achieves. But there had also come both illness, necessitating, towards the close, repeated operations, and harrowing tragedy in his family, from both of which he had been relatively exempt before. There heavy blows, the nature of which cannot be disclosed here, fell upon him and Mrs. Carpenter between 1891 and 1917. Strong men whose lives have been full of strenuous but successful effort, of the labour which fatigues but

deeds. I submit myself to Him as my brother, master, Lord and Saviour. And I go further. To me the philosophical arguments for the existence of God and of the immortality of the soul are not strong enough for producing necessary conviction. Jesus Christ is nearer to me than the Father. When I get despondent in regard to my faith in God, it is Jesus who brings God back to me. "He that seeth me hath seen the Father." "No man knoweth the Father save the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal him." Then moreover the Infinite does not exclude the finite, but does include it. Humanity is in a sense Divinity. The essence of the two natures is one and the same. Every sainted soul is so far divine, but no one can be as fully and truly divine as Jesus. For he occupied a unique position. He is the first-born of every creature, the head of new humanity. He represents to me, so far as I am concerned, all the Divinity I can understand and He is God to me.

'I am afraid this is not exactly your position. But I feel loath not to say out my present feelings in regard to the question. I do not pretend to fathom the mystery of the Godhead; and all the speculations about the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit I leave to those who can swallow them, and to history. But still in Christ Jesus I will meet my God; in following him and partaking of his spirit and faith and hope. I will look for the Salvation of Humanity from all sins, sorrows, and groanings.'

Yokoi was active in promoting the religious uplifting of his people through the press, editing both a weekly and a monthly review devoted to religion.

is felt to be fruitful and beneficent, and who preserve an even cheerfulness through all the checks and anxieties incident to such labour, sometimes succumb when they are visited without warning or preparation by these graver trials. Others, not necessarily of stronger fibre, maintain their tenacious self-mastery under these more exacting and terrible calls, and continue to wear a serene countenance even through the ordinary routine of the after days, often harder to bear than the first shock. To most eyes the serenity of such a man may be indistinguishable from the even cheerfulness of one who has undergone no exceptional trial; only his intimate friends will discern the sustained struggle with memories unassuaged by time. Carpenter was one of these men.

This could not be more finely stated than in some words written by Philip Wicksteed to Mrs. Carpenter shortly after one of these trials:

'I am no believer in the redemptive effect of suffering as such, but to endure what Estlin has endured and to be what he is, is to raise the standard of heroism in every life that his life has touched, and if with his stripes we are not healed, it must be because we are incapable of healing—and that in Estlin's own creed is a *reductio ad impossibile*.'

The time came when Carpenter had to contend also with severe physical trials. In 1922–4 in particular he had to undergo dangerous operations. His friends have recorded with admiration his fortitude in working and speaking under the stress of pain. A cause very near his heart was, as we know, the Fund for the Sustentation of Ministers. In spite of illness he continued his accustomed journeys and meetings, appealing for subscriptions with that courtesy and eloquence which few could resist. On one such platform, his devoted helper Mr. Copeland Bowie tells us, Carpenter insisted on speaking when scarcely able to stand. Under similar conditions he spoke at the dinner

in October 1924, in celebration of his eightieth birthday. 'I feel myself a worm to him!' was the outburst, in a letter to Mrs. Carpenter, of one of the most critically minded among his former students, now a writer of acknowledged eminence, after watching him: 'The way he kept up and on while hardly able to stand. Oh it was grand and unforgettable! . . . In nothing he has ever done have I seen him so unforgettably above the common level of men. Had I nothing else to remember him by—and I have a great deal—I should say "this, unquestionably, is one of the greatest and best"!'

In this connexion it is of interest to ask how Carpenter, as a thinker and preacher, faced the problem of sorrow, in the years after he had been thus sorely tried himself. To the philosopher it may perhaps seem that temperament had more to do than strict reasoning with his optimistic faith. His way of dealing with the facts of evolution, which he joyously accepted, is illustrated by a sermon preached in Manchester College in May 1893, 'Overcoming the World'. He is replying to the Romanes Lecture, delivered at Oxford shortly before by Huxley. Huxley, as is well known, drew a sharp contrast between Nature, which is wholly non-moral, and Man, in whom good and evil in the ethical sense first begin. Carpenter, as we might expect, repudiated, even more strenuously than many others, this separation between Nature and Man, where he saw equally the benign working of God.

'Without any jugglery in keeping ugly and difficult facts out of sight, in the full view of all that suffering can do, it is also possible to alter its emphasis, according as we concentrate our attention on its incidence upon ourselves, or sink our own pain in the mighty order that envelops us. Look out then upon the world, behold its infinite energy, its multiform life, will you side with it or against it? Those who have truly felt the vast sweep of its immensity do not lose their reverence for it even

though it crush them as it passes by. To have any place in it fills them with wonder; even though it touch them only to wound, they gaze at it not with resentment but with awe.'

This reasoning might not have satisfied Schopenhauer or Thomas Hardy. But it is something deeper than temperament which made men like Carpenter insist that the process which evolved the brain of Beethoven cannot be evil, though tigers and human fiends have been evolved from the same slime. And some, it may be, will with difficulty resist the thought that a process which has evolved a nature so rich in spiritual beauty as that of Carpenter himself is not vitiated by the co-existence of many dens of vice.[1]

The problem of suffering was handled some twenty-five years later, in a sermon of striking beauty preached, during the war, at Brooklyn, New York, 'Bearing the Cross'. He begins by facing the saying 'Whosoever doth not bear his own cross . . . cannot be my disciple', which apparently not merely justifies suffering, but makes it a condition of the Christian life. But Carpenter will not have this interpretation. What is vital for him in the Christian character is not suffering, but service, and service is joyous. 'Even in the direst trial and utmost extremity of pain, you may still note at its core the simple peace of blended self-surrender and of faith.' The cross must be borne by each man in the last resort alone. And yet that is not all. 'The law of human loneliness reaches out on every side to the larger encompassing law of human fellowship.' . . . 'We are part of a mighty host marching together. The gracious help of those who have suffered and been strong supports our steps. . . . Nor is human fellowship the last word of our discipleship. . . . God is through all and in all, so that life and limb are His. Through all and in all, so that He breathes in our breath, speaks in our speech, thinks in our thought. What then? Shall

[1] *Inquirer*, 10 June 1893.

we suffer, and He not know? Are we in pain and He not feel? . . . It is the mystery of His nature to be the Eternal and the All-pervading, and yet to blend Himself with our frail mortal frame, to abide unchanged while we grow and decay.' In such passages, all the strains which composed the spiritual nature of Carpenter, heroic valour, fearless conscience, unwearied joy in social service, and apprehension of the divine through Man and Nature, are harmoniously interfused. That primal vision of God in his student days which was, he said, 'the foundation of my whole religious life', far from fading, had only been filled, in the ceaseless work and thought and prayer of the intervening half-century with a richer and more articulate content.

But the War years brought a trial of faith yet graver to a man of Carpenter's deep social sympathies than many private losses.

'I find myself', he wrote, 'thinking more and more of the great dim figures of the world's suffering and pain; and the mystery and ignorance in which so much of it is silently borne. It is well for those who can feel themselves borne up in the struggle by the goodness of those round about them. But they are few, and they know not how to communicate to others the secret which they have won. . . . This horrible war . . . one has to hold tight to faith and purpose to feel justified in living the sheltered happy life . . . without self-reproach. And yet it is *ideas* that guide in the long run; and the world *is* slowly listening, and the voices which were derided when we were young in their appeal for peace and justice, are more numerous and more potent. For the Kingdom does really come.'

And so after the Peace, the signs of growing brotherhood among the nations of the world, in particular the foundation of the League of Nations, outweighed with Carpenter the many sinister revivals of old feuds which led many others to feel sadly that the 'signs of the Kingdom' were less clear than they had been in the days of the Victorians.

Animam mitem christianissimam plorat collegium Mancuniense, plorat Theologia, was the phrase in which a great Oxford scholar (the Crewian Orator of 1927) summed up the being of Estlin Carpenter when he died; and the words found spontaneous response in that ancient home of established and Catholic Christianity, as elsewhere. 'Theology' as well as 'Manchester College' mourned the loss of his 'humane' spirit. The 'most Christian' soul is not always distinguished by acute understanding of other types of soul. Nor was this precisely the strength of Estlin Carpenter. His beautiful largeness of sympathy had little in it of the dramatist's sheer delight in the varieties of men and minds. He had little humour, or of the power which usually attends humour, of watching with relish the clash of opposite temperaments, or the comic consequences of misunderstanding. He disliked satire and the disposition which finds satisfaction in it. His mind was extraordinarily thorough, rational, and accurate, but its movements could easily be foreseen and its course foretold. There was nothing incalculable in his thought, as there were few surprises in his speech. His eloquence was a steady glow kindling through an even succession of harmoniously ordered and balanced sentences; the sparkling coruscations of wit, the swift and startling transitions which sometimes carry the temper of a high-strung mind more swiftly and searchingly home, were scarcely among the resources of Carpenter's sober literary armoury. Their equivalent, or more than equivalent, with him, was the sublime and revealing 'wit' of the imagery of great poets.

On the other hand, his sympathetic apprehension of the spirit of God working, as he believed, in humanity, was boundless. He was deeply religious before he became in the full sense a scholar, and his mastery of the complex and intricate faiths of the East, whatever it might owe to the stimulus of intellectual curiosity

or the thirst for scientific analysis, had its ultimate root in his own inborn religious passion. 'Religious passion is not common', one of the most penetrating of Carpenter's woman friends has said; 'a pure and austere religious passion like his is one of the rarest things we meet.' Not less rare is it to find this pure and austere religious passion completely exempt from the narrowness which intensity usually engenders, and nourishing the springs of an intellect catholic in its range of apprehension for all forms of faith, as of generous ardour in the service of those who held them. His catholicity was even more of the heart than of the mind; but there was nothing in it of the flabby good-nature which wins some men a reputation for largeness of mind on easy terms. It was with him the natural speech of a soul which never ceased to be filled with awareness of the divine presence in the world, in Nature and in Man.

Such awareness, never crossed by doubt, and continually replenished by the thousand acts of goodness it inspired, brought about a subtle transformation, as the years went on, in the physical countenance and expression of the man. The lineaments which at thirty had denoted the vigorous athletic preacher, at fifty the scholar and lecturer, began, in his 'seventies at Oxford, to acquire insensibly, as was widely observed, a more venerable and dignified beauty; there gathered about his old age not only the serenity proper to the evening of such a life, but something of the awe, the grandeur, of a prophet. He read the Hebrew prophets with the authentic utterance, as one of his hearers, already quoted, thought, 'of one who was himself a prophet'. 'His passion for others in difficulties', wrote another Oxford friend to Mrs. Carpenter, 'brought me into the glowing light of his evening. And when I think of his powers and of a soul whose grandeur frightens the mind, and when I think of your fifty years together, I know you will have gathered for the ending a strength

too great and deep to need the help that is everywhere offered to you from full hearts.' That phrase, 'a grandeur that frightens the mind', may be a flash of sudden intuition rather than a constant impression, but it rendered truly the perception that this self-effacing friend of his fellow men was also a soul sublime and apart, who lived, if any did, in the constant possession of the vision of God.

II

RECOLLECTIONS OF AN OXFORD STUDENT AT MANCHESTER COLLEGE

By J. H. WEATHERALL

I

MY first knowledge of Dr. Estlin Carpenter belongs to the years 1884 and 1885. He was then a member of the staff of Manchester New College, not as yet removed to Oxford. He used to preach from time to time in London and the neighbourhood, usually to relieve some burdened brother-minister of the Unitarian community.

I saw him for the first time when he thus preached to relieve Mr. Copeland Bowie. It was an evening service at Stamford Street Chapel. I was then a boy, already cherishing the ambition of going to College to prepare for the Unitarian ministry. To see and hear Dr. Carpenter, one of the honoured leaders of that community, and one of its leading scholars, was an exciting occasion, and I have never lost the impression it made upon me.

He stood up, tall and dignified and austere, speaking fluently and rapidly without any notes sonorous paragraphs, every word of which would have printed exactly as spoken. It was an exposition of the religion of the eighth- and seventh-century Hebrew prophets. The text was 'He hath showed thee, O man, what is good, and what doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?' It kept recurring as the summary of the teaching, now of Amos and Hosea, now of Isaiah and Jeremiah: it came in again at the close as a summary of the teaching of Jesus of Nazareth, the reformulator in a newer epoch of the prophetic message.

Even in a single sermon Dr. Carpenter could bring together a long period of history and present a unifying conception to hold a large mass of details together. It seemed to me that I had gained, all at once, more knowledge of what the Bible meant as a whole than had come to me from any previous instruction. The eighth and seventh centuries in Israel were now marked out as a great creative epoch in the intellectual and religious evolution of mankind. In it, a century or two before the rise of Greek philosophy, the prophets had transcended the tribal speculations of their predecessors, and by their conception of a God of Righteousness were on the way to an ethical monotheism which carried within it implicitly the doctrine of the unity of humanity. The pre-prophetic period emerged as a gradual movement towards this conception of a Universal God ; the post-prophetic period was relapse back into particularism when it was not the reassertion of the great message.

I was to hear all this again at a later time and to learn it over again in many details. But I would give a wrong impression if I suggested that the sermon was a schematic view of Hebrew theology. It was a sermon and not a lecture; it was an exposition of moral and religious experience such as might be, should be, renewed in every simple heart finding in goodness, mercy, and humility a personal contact with the Eternal God.

I heard him again a little later at an annual meeting of what is called the London Domestic Mission Society. This is a religious and philanthropic society which maintains mission churches, rich in institutional activities, among the poor people in various parts of London. He had to move, or support, a resolution appreciating the work and self-sacrifice of the missionaries supported by the Society. His theme was that the service of man is the service of God, and that the

humblest missionary worker is a spiritually anointed follower of Christ.

On this occasion his voice seemed huskier than before; two or three times it went off suddenly and for a space he stood silent. But he kept on doggedly and finished what he had to say, with a Spartan power over bodily weakness which I was to observe again afterwards. I learned that the affliction was of long standing, and that it had been the chief reason why he had given up the active work of the ministry. But he remained at heart a minister still, and in his affectionate sympathy with the missionaries there was a kind of noble envy of their privileges.

Once yet again in these London days I saw and heard him. It was the custom of Manchester New College to hold at the close of a session a public service of farewell to the students who were leaving the college, with a welcome into the ministry given by some minister of senior standing. One such service I attended. It was in Little Portland Street Chapel, now vanished. A service of this kind was charged with personal emotion. The small theological college has this quality of its defects, that the ties between students and the teachers, between the college and the community it serves, are very close and personal. The service was official, but it was intensely human: there was a sense of the sadness of breaking ties, of men dedicated, after years of preparation, to hopes high and perhaps forlorn. Dr. Martineau took the chief part. He was stately and profound, and to behold him was a kind of consecration. But no one there, I think, could feel that Dr. Carpenter's share in the service was overshadowed even by that great presence. He was austere, as Dr. Martineau was austere; but he could convey a sense of comradeship with the students in their spiritual aspirations and in the work to which they were being

dedicated. Again I felt that the cure of souls meant more to him than the achievements of the scholar.

These three occasions were my only opportunities of seeing Dr. Carpenter in those years, and I never had speech with him at that time. I heard about him here a little and there a little. I learned about the family to which he belonged; about his philanthropic aunt, Mary Carpenter, the friend of Indian women and the inspirer of Reformatory schools; about his learned father Dr. William Benjamin Carpenter the biologist. And at this time I came upon a painting of Dr. Lant Carpenter, who died in 1840, and who was Estlin's grandfather. He died at sea, lost mysteriously from his ship in the night-time. The picture conveyed an impression of intellectual power and moral reserve; and it seemed to me that there was some premonition of tragedy in the expression of the face. In days to come there were to be other calamities around the family name, and I learned to think of Dr. Estlin Carpenter as one who, if he was doomed to walk in company with pain, knew how to turn his necessities to glorious gain.

II

My personal intercourse with Dr. Carpenter began in 1890, when I became an External student of Manchester College, now removed to Oxford, and dropping the 'New' from its title. External students are men pursuing undergraduate studies in a University, pledged to become internal students of Divinity in Manchester College. I was for three years an External student at Oxford, and then for three other years an Internal student.

The Oxford External students were under the friendly oversight of the Manchester College staff. They were expected to take part in a few of the College engagements, but were left free to carry out their

immediate work. So for the first three years I saw Dr. Carpenter only at a certain distance, and except when I heard him preaching in his turn in the College Chapel the recollections I have from those three years are slight and superficial. I will set down a few of them before attempting to tell what I chiefly learned from him later in the lecture-room.

Dr. Carpenter made the acquaintance of the External students as they came up, and found time to have them to lunch at his house and to take them for a tramp afterwards. He was always present at the meetings of the Manchester College Discussion Society, which the External students were invited to attend, and I recall the eagerness of his approbation and the warmth of his encouragement when one or other of the juniors showed some enterprise in ventilating his views among the seniors.

A recurring occasion of friendly intercourse was provided on Sunday afternoons, when Dr. and Mrs. Carpenter were 'At Home' to the students of the College, External and Internal. A few other guests were usually present; graduates or undergraduates from Unitarian homes up and down the country, or wandering scholars from Germany or Italy, America or India. After tea there was a paper or address, usually by one of the students or a visitor, and discussion followed, arising more or less directly out of the paper. The subjects were of all kinds—social, literary, theological. Often a term's programme was serial. One term, I remember, was given to Browning's 'Christmas-Eve' and 'Easter-Day' and another term to Browning's 'La Saisiaz'; still another to 'The Doctrine of Love in the Modern Poets' and another to Professor Peabody's 'Jesus Christ and the Social Question'.

The staff of Manchester College had a difficult psychological problem to face in consequence of the removal of the College to the new intellectual atmosphere

of Oxford. They were men of mature years, none of them Oxonians by training, with habits of tuition and discussion developed in a different tradition. The undergraduates could hardly be expected to accept as a matter of course the somewhat provincial and Puritan ways of the translated theological college, and it is not necessary to accuse them of intellectual snobbery if they could not conceive, off-hand, that the little group of the Manchester College tutors deserved as much intellectual respect as the certificated stars, admittedly of the first magnitude, glittering in the University sky. So it sometimes happened that the undergraduates did not at first find these Sunday afternoon gatherings altogether congenial; and perhaps were privately flippant about what the local idiom described as 'earnestness and yearnestness'. It is a proof of Dr. Carpenter's inherent power that any such criticism soon was felt to be altogether irrelevant. Dr. Carpenter was so gracious and so happy as a host, so unassertive of any opinions of his own, so naturally and beautifully deferential to even the most timid and immature contribution to the discussions, above all so hungry for true and stimulating thoughts, that these Sunday afternoons came to be looked on as refreshing privileges among all the privileges which are so abundant in the rich and variegated Oxford life.

There seemed to me always a certain kind of detachment about him, as if a part of his mind was pursuing separate trains of thought into some higher regions. It was most certainly not absent-mindedness: he was never unaware of the realities of the moment; and I should be surprised to learn that he ever missed a train in his life. It was a fuller-mindedness that saw little things in wide relations, and found it a little effortful to attend only to the 'small change' of daily life; particularly of that small change which passes so fluently in undergraduate life. Lunch and a walk afterwards

were different experiences shared with him from those with one's college tutor. He would, indeed, inquire about one's immediate work and friends; and now and again there would be a quiet word or two about one's ideas and hopes of serving the world in days ahead. But mostly talk was impersonal. It would give a wrong impression if I said that everything discussed seemed to turn into philosophy; but not quite so wrong an impression if I said that everything seemed to turn into a love of wisdom. Yet even that sounds pedantic, and there was no pedantry in him. And he was not didactic. If a chance reference to arithmetic led to his developing his thoughts about the value of arithmetic taught as a process of reasoning, and the kinship between mathematical and theological thinking; if an allusion to blindfold chess-playing turned at once into a discussion of the psychological processes involved, it was because his interest was in such matters.

There was one occasion at least when there was no trace of that detachment or aloofness. It was on one of the Sunday afternoon 'At Homes' when he was confined to his room with an attack of lumbago. The meeting went on without him. There was some small business upon which he had written to me and I had answered, but it was still not quite cleared up. He sent me a message that he would like to see me in his room. I went up. He was evidently in great pain, but he commanded it as once before I had seen him fighting with his loss of voice. The business was soon disposed of, but he made me sit down, and he talked for a while about 'Brother-Ass, the body' and its weaknesses; and by and by about suffering and its mystery, and the soul entangled with the flesh; humbly and kindly, like a wise and friendly elder brother. Some one has said that one cannot understand life till one has seen it for a time from the horizontal: perhaps one may not know one's friends till one has seen them horizontal.

The years 1893 to 1896 gave me opportunities of seeing him every day in term-time; and the accident that I happened to have a particular interest in the subjects in which he lectured—an interest planted, so far as I know, by that sermon in Stamford Street of which I have already spoken—increased my obligations to him with every term.

A happy accident gave me many informal hours with him before the 1893 winter session began. Manchester College had been in temporary quarters in Oxford while the new building was rising, and the greater part of its extensive library had been stored away in boxes for the four or five years since the removal from London. I spent the Long Vacation in rearranging the library from London and the interim accumulations in their new home. Dr. Carpenter frequently came in while the work was in progress; and he would spend an hour or two now and again on any part of the work that was going on. The way of a man with a book is characteristic. He was no bibliophile in the sense of caring for curiosities of printing or binding or rarity. But he seemed to know every book in the library in its place in the classification of knowledge and the historical development of civilization. He would handle a score or two of volumes, disposing them almost instinctively in chronological groups, with a running commentary of their place among the continents of knowledge and an ever-present consciousness of the map of knowledge as a whole.

Now I began to understand better some of the things I had learned about him from older students, and in the next three years I had other opportunities of seeing him as an intellectual workman. I will set down here a few recollections of him in and outside the college before I try to explain what most I learned from him.

His appearance was always impressive. He was tall

with a powerful frame, with a leanness that belonged to abstemious living and quick and vigorous motion. His fine head was splendidly carried; the full beard which he always wore giving no impression of heaviness to the face because of the height of the clear and candid forehead and the quick alertness of the eyes. Whether seated or standing, he was remarkable. In some small classes he would sit at the lecturer's desk; mostly he stood, and his Master's gown lengthened still more the lines of his figure.

His lecturing was mostly extempore from notes. He knew exactly what he was going to say, and planned his matter so that he arrived at his predetermined points with the punctuality of a train. His eyes would drop occasionally upon his notes, and then he would look up and above his audience, preoccupied with the matters in his mind. His lecture was a discourse conceived on the large lines of the long packed paragraph in English that belonged much more to the school of Gibbon and Burke than of Bunyan or Swift; the amount of detail would have seemed excessive (sometimes did to the hasty) if it had not been accompanied by the summarizing sentences in which the main points were brought together.

His study at Banbury Road, his room at College, showed never a disorderly paper or book. His manuscripts were always tidy. He used to write on the small quarto paper which was known as sermon paper. He wrote rapidly, using a gold-handled pen. His handwriting was regular, clear, and beautiful; even his latest letters are beautifully written, though the hand trembled a little then. He had very seldom to make a correction: if he did, it was characteristic of him to cross out the defective words so completely that no hesitation could arise in the reading of it. He would pack away the completed sheets in the cardboard boxes in which the paper was sold, and this made

a very effective filing system. A slovenly manuscript from a student must have displeased him, though the severest criticism I ever heard was 'Don't you think this manuscript is rather rough?' Letters were answered with scrupulous promptitude. He paid visits and ceremonial calls with the same punctilious promptitude; the grace of a congratulation or a condolence was never lost by delay. He had the Gladstonian virtue of thrift of time, and must have had something of that same statesman's power of concentrated attention. For it was of Gladstone that Lord Morley wrote that he did sixteen hours work a day, but did as much in four hours as most men do in the sixteen. His students sometimes said of him that he had no redeeming vice; and they sometimes remembered that he was a childless man, with no children to ruffle his papers on his desk or to leave toys lying about on his study floor. But it was their own fault if the students did not learn from him something of the mechanism of copious, thorough, and productive work.

I never heard him tell an anecdote except once, and then it was about Shakespearian acting; its point was not in its humour but the depth of the chief tragic characters of Shakespeare. His cast of mind was not such as to make him treasure humour for humour's sake, or to set him seeking a jest to bring home a point neatly and tellingly. And yet he most certainly was not sourminded in any way: he could see perfectly well that jesting and wit were innocent and refreshing relaxations for those who were given that way; he would listen amiably if one reported or committed epigram or repartee, but one felt that his own currency was different.

For several years he had parties of guests, mostly his students, at Leathes Cottage in Borrowdale. It was a large cottage, for it held about ten guests. I will

recall a few incidents of the visit I paid there, for the sake of recording some aspects of him that were less obvious in the collegiate hours.

The mornings were reserved by him for his work, and from 9 till 1 he was at his desk, busy at that time on his sections of the laborious Oxford Hexateuch. Only now and again was this routine broken, and even then he would be at work till the moment of starting upon one of the longer excursions that demanded most of the day.

The excursion was the chief business every week-day. For many of us these excursions seemed rather strenuous. Twelve to sixteen miles was a common programme, but there were usually two or three mountain tops thrown in. He was a good mountaineer, not of the climbing, but of the walking kind. The walls of the refectory of the cottage were lined with sheets of the largest scale ordnance maps, and the topography of the district was the subject of animated discussions every day. But his knowledge of the summits and connecting paths between them seemed instinctive; he was never at fault. We were never led by dangerous paths, or if we were we never discovered it; and if we had discovered it, confidence in his leadership would have carried us through contentedly.

Once on one of the longer rambles we came to our destination near the top of Great Gable. Years before there had been a calamity on this mountain; one of his guests had fallen and been killed. We all knew of this tragedy, and the awe of it was upon us. We had straggled up and were assembling for the return. Dr. Carpenter said quietly that he would prefer us to keep together for the return journey, and he asked us to follow his lead downwards. Almost at that moment a mist which had been licking the top of the mountain thickened and came down upon us, and we could scarcely see each other or the ground beneath our

feet. We formed into Indian file, touching the man in front whenever the rough ground allowed. But the leader never faltered for a single step. It was a long and anxious time before we got through the belt of mist, and saw Seathwaite before us just where it ought to be.

On another day we were bound for a tramp over Skiddaw. We started by boat from Lodore to Keswick. The day was unpleasant and Derwentwater was already rough when we started. Almost immediately one of the sudden storms of the district fell upon the lake. Strong gusts of wind roughened the water still more, and the rain came down in sheets between the gusts. The boat plunged in a disturbing manner. Dr. Carpenter was rowing stroke, and we marvelled at the strength and the steadiness of his rowing under such conditions. The storm abated as we neared our landing-place, and soon we were walking our soddened clothes dry. He made no remark on the roughness of the passage. The others were sure it had been really dangerous and that it was his strength and steadiness that had reduced the danger.

There were other occasions on which we had reason for thinking he was superior to the distresses of ordinary mortals. Here is one trivial instance. One of our rambles was on a day that was intensely hot. We had tramped over several mountain sides and most of us were grievously distressed by thirst. For a time that seemed very long there was no water to be found, and we were away from dwellings. At last we came upon a spring of clear luxurious water, and we drank with probably unseemly eagerness. But he stood gazing over the wide prospect, and I think he did not himself drink at all.

On these excursions the talk went freely, and we would plot so that each of us might get a mile or two with him in turn. It would not be true to say that his mind was relaxed even on a tramp over the hills; but

he was certainly more open to the impressions of the moment than on other occasions. He seemed to feed upon the scenery; Wordsworthian quotations sometimes oozed from his lips, and he would linger at some familiar beautiful spot till we had all gathered together to share his enjoyment, and sometimes his face would bear a paternal smile when the prospect he showed begat exhilaration in us as well.

But betweenwhiles he would talk with his companion much as he talked round the Sunday afternoon tea-table at Banbury Road. The news of the day would come up for quick comment upon its relations to the weal or woe of the world at large, and the yellow-hammers whistled accompaniments to discourses on books of the moment or on the political or social urgencies of the day; and now and again, as I can vouch, to some enthusiastic praises of the book of Deuteronomy for its sensitive 'humanitarianism'. Sometimes English fiction provided a lighter interlude: it would be at a later date than this visit of mine that he expressed a high opinion of Mrs. Humphry Ward's 'Eleanor', which he thought was a penetrating study of the mind of a Modernist Roman Catholic priest. The lucid air recalled many reminiscences of poetry: not only English: Goethe and Dante he frequently quoted.

There was a day when two of his guests played chess on a pocket board while they sat on the box-seat of a waggonette passing through some of the most beautiful scenery of the district. They did it chiefly from bravado, and, it may be hoped, a frequent eye on the changing view in the intervals between moves; and it is understood that in chess the intervals between moves are spacious and leisurely. Dr. Carpenter pretended to be greatly shocked at this profanation and held the offenders up to opprobrium as Philistines; renewing the charge against them more than once in the following days.

III

I will now endeavour to explain in what ways Dr. Carpenter impressed some at least of his students through his lecturing and his teaching in the College. I speak of the years 1893 to 1896, the period when I was an Internal Divinity student.

There were then some lectures which all the divinity students attended, and some others which were specially for those who were specializing in particular studies. Happily for me, my own choice of subjects placed me in almost daily contact with him throughout the three years. I attended courses of his lectures, and, in addition, had to do a certain amount of essay work for him, both in term-time and in the vacations. These essays were returned to him in tutorial hours in which the themes of the lectures were expanded.

Dr. Carpenter's class lectures were the lectures of a researcher and a specialist, and the first thing a new student learned was that first-hand independent work was expected from him, based not on text-books but on examination of the documents concerned. An essay which might have been considered adequate by an Oxford Honours tutor seemed to him a mere note: he required an essay on the scale of a doctor's thesis. His noble error about the capacity of the average student at least stimulated them to attempt work on a large canvas and anyhow to be patient of detail. In time they gained some facility in following him, rather breathlessly no doubt, through his encyclopaedic abundance of material.

They found it easier to follow him when they discovered that fundamentally he was a historian of ideas; particularly of the ideas in which mankind has embodied the experiences which may be roughly classed as moral and religious. He accepted to the full the principle of evolution and applied it over the whole

region of experience, the religious region as much as any other. He took it as assured that the human faculties are adequate for the acquisition and evaluation of knowledge in the sacred field as much as in the secular: anything that purported to be supernatural in its origin and transmission is nevertheless subject to time and space, has documents written, collected, edited, interpreted by men and not by angels, and therefore amenable to examination, comparison, and evaluation. He had, of course, a proper respect for philosophy, and many a student who had a propensity for that faculty and interposed an objection based upon some philosophical theory had the experience of finding that the historian was expert philosopher as well. But for himself, in the present condition of knowledge, he thought it was more profitable to leave aside the business of speculating on the origin and inner nature of things and the technique of epistemology to attend to the objective field of historical investigation, and to find out, through their manifold varieties, how the moral and religious consciousness of mankind has expressed itself and left its record. For history is the embodiment of past experiences, and there is no better way of knowing what man is now than by the study of what he has been. Characteristically he would support this position by an appeal to a remote age and a distant name, telling the story how when Confucius visited the court of Chow, the seat of the imperial dynasty, he took occasion to make a special examination of the arrangements for the great sacrifices to heaven and earth; he surveyed the ancestral temples in which the imperial worship was offered; he inspected the Hall of Light, whose walls bore paintings of the emperors from the remotest times; and then he turned to his disciples with the remark—'As we use a glass to examine the forms of things, so must we study the past to understand the present.'

In one sense, all this is obvious enough, but the point of it is Dr. Carpenter's fearless and thorough application of it to the contents of Theology. In his hands it produced something entirely different from Biblical History, or Ecclesiastical History, or Doctrinal History, as those disciplines appear in the ordinary theological school, or even in the theological schools of a University when such exist: and it made the teaching of Theology in Manchester College, as I thought and think, unique in those days.

Even now there are few men who really know in any living way the size of the world and the abundance of its populations. There is, or used to be, a little table in a little corner of a page in *Whitaker's Almanack* which estimated the population of the world at about seventeen hundred millions, and the Christian population at about six hundred millions. What kind of Christians those six hundred million people are I need not ask, but it has always seemed to me axiomatic that any scheme of Theology which does not carry in it constantly some awareness of the other eleven hundred millions, their thoughts and hopes and fears and needs and fates, and translate this awareness through all the past centuries of recorded time, is nothing but a provincialism.

Dr. Carpenter's intellectual merit was that he had this living awareness, and that his teaching of Theology was based upon it. It was present in his treatment of every subject with which he dealt.

In a theological college in a Christian country it was inevitable that the religion, language, and literature of the Hebrews should occupy an important place in the curriculum, and this subject was in Dr. Carpenter's charge. If his interest in this subject had been nothing but of the ordinary provincial kind, he was provided with the full equipment for its elucidation. His supply of philological knowledge and textual criticism was as

thorough as a German Professor's; he could interpret a difficult Psalm or an obscure chapter of Job or Nahum as if philology was his only love; and he knew enough Arabic and other Semitic languages to form independent opinions without any credulity about the infallibility of lexicons. He made himself, as well, master of the rapidly accumulating material from ancient monuments, and would tell with animation the marvellous story of the decipherment of hieroglyphic and cuneiform, and show us how after centuries of silence the dead stones and bricks had been made to speak and to give us assured points for Hebrew chronology or to correct some familiar verse into a richer meaning. Of his powers of detailed and penetrating linguistic analysis his share in the Oxford Hexateuch stands as a permanent witness.

But none of this philological and linguistic ability dominated his treatment of the Hebrew literature. Nor did his full and frank acceptance of what used to be called the 'Higher Criticism' by itself account for the peculiar breadth and animation of his lectures on the Hebrew literature and religion.

He was indeed a pioneer in this country in the application of the Higher Criticism to Biblical Interpretation. He accepted what was known as the Graf-Wellhausen variety of it which transfers the bulk of what was believed to be Mosaic legislation to the exilic and post-exilic periods, and consequently makes the prophetic period, especially the eighth and seventh centuries, the chief formative period in the religious development of the Hebrew people.

There were other exponents of the Higher Criticism in England at this time, but few of them were prepared for the decisive reconstructions it involved in the conventional teaching of Old Testament History. Their tendency was to use it departmentally in the retreatment of commentaries upon particular portions of the

literature; or to retell the old story on the old lines with foot-notes. As it seemed to me, they were too much hampered by the tradition that the literature had been supernaturally guarded from error, and by dogmatic implications which were thought to be imperilled by the reconstructions involved.

For those who were not embarrassed in that way Dr. Carpenter's treatment of Hebrew history and literature made it for the first time seem coherent, luminous, and profoundly moving. He filled out his reconstruction with material gathered from many fields, and with that religious use of the Imagination which in one of his Inaugural lectures he had laid down as one of the necessary instruments of the theological student. Those who have read his 'Life in Palestine When Jesus Lived' will recall his precise knowledge of Jewish sects and parties; his aptness in inferring the experiences behind rituals and legislation; the vividness of his perceptions of how life may have been really lived in an old day. We in his classes had something of the same kind done for us about a day still older. No part of the subject remained dull in his hands. Not even the various Law-codes embedded in the Pentateuch. He would build up pictures of the earliest gropings towards a civilization out of a few verses in Exodus or Leviticus; or use his vast knowledge of anthropology to throw light on the obscurities of Hebrew myth and cultus.

But this was all less significant than the way in which he made Hebrew history, not a subject by itself, but an important chapter, one of the most important chapters, in Weltgeschichte. It was a detailed elaboration of the argument of which I had heard the outline in that sermon in Stamford Street Chapel years before. The Prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries were creative thinkers, by virtue of their passionate conviction that their racial God was pre-eminently a God

of righteousness. For righteousness is no racial possession: it is of a universal nature; consequently their racial God is the Universal God, and all of the families of the earth are equally his offspring and his care. The Hebrew literature all leads up to this conception; marks development towards it, assertions of it, or relapses from it. Christianity and Paulinism are essentially reformulations of it. But it is not simply a casual conclusion of a Semitic consciousness: ethical monotheism, with its implications of human confraternity, is one of the leading ideas in the development of civilization. So the Great Hebrew prophets deserved recognition among the creative thinkers of the world, and their epoch was worth all the pains and enthusiasm given, for example, to the creative poets and thinkers of Greece.

Thus, as a historian, he made this departmental subject a humanistic study. But there were other subjects upon which he taught and lectured.

In his early days he had been associated with Mr. Rhys Davids in the exploration of Buddhism. With him, and also by himself, he had edited and translated two or three Pali texts. He became fascinated by the extraordinary panorama revealed by India and her religions; and he set himself to inquire what light the great faiths of India threw upon the general experience of mankind, and the traditional connexions between religion and morality. The same kind of exploration followed soon, accompanied by all his passion for detail, refusal to take anything at second-hand wherever, by whatever toil, it was possible to get at it direct, into the old literatures of China and Persia; and he re-studied the Greek and Latin literatures from the standpoint of religious development.

He thus took the whole field of history for his province, and the ancestors of some eleven millions of our fellow-citizens upon the globe into his meditations.

Sometimes he would give a course of lectures upon one of the ethnic religions specifically; Buddhism, for example. And he would treat it then as he treated the Hebrew history; making a survey of the documents, marking out the epochs into which they are properly disposed, and articulating the central conceptions in their evolution or decay. Buddhism enthralled him; and it enthralled us when we came to it through him. I had had the misfortune to become acquainted with it on the introduction of a University lecturer who was an Anglican clergyman. He reminded me of Sir Willoughby Patterne's tour on the Continent, holding the characteristic British review of his Maker's grotesques. Dr. Carpenter interpreted Buddhism differently. He would speak of it in its strangeness as the great religion which provides no soul, no everlasting God, no conception of history, no idea of progress; but yet of her brotherhood with Christianity in the common power of appealing to the consciousness of evil, the same earnestness of endeavour, the same longing after holiness, the same implicit trust that in the constitution of things there dwells an eternal Right, the same passion of conflict with the world of greed and sensuality.

When thus following the linear method of historical investigation, whether of Hebraism or of Buddhism, the consciousness of the unity of all human experience was continually present; but it was when he lectured on 'Comparative Religion' that this consciousness came clearest into his students' minds. It was obviously impossible to treat on any adequate scale the general history of the world religions within the crowded curriculum of the College. The method he selected was to take a specific conception and to track it through from form to form; examining its rise, noting its early modifications which it underwent in races exposed to different influences and marked by different mental

characters, and showing how it lived on into higher faiths and became a nucleus round which the culture of the conscience grew. He would choose now the idea of a future life, and trace its connexions with the roots of law, society, and religion; or again, the Idea of Judgement after Death; or again, the Idea of Revelation. Such a method was eminently suited to his mind; his power of assimilating facts from regions far from each other, of co-ordinating them in coherent groups and of suggesting the life within the organism, unified and vitalized unfamiliar and heterogeneous masses of material, and gave them a lawful place in the intellectual, moral, and religious development of the human race.

And yet I recall that it was something more than intellectual admiration which he excited in us by his power of survey over such wide areas of human experience, or than the sense of moral enfranchisement it gave us from the limitations of a provincial view of civilization. It was a sense of the reality of religious experience present throughout all the manifold and often uncouth forms in which it has shown itself. He never used the category of true and false in religion; he spoke of lower and higher indeed, but even in the lowest he would exhibit something not ignoble, and in the wildest superstition something that was not ungraceful. The lesson of sympathy with every form of religion was one of the first I had from him the year I became one of his students: for it was expounded in the inaugural lecture in 1890, in his discussion of the 'Place of the History of Religion in Theological Study'. I will quote a passage from it in which he compares the materials of religious history to a cathedral:

'In the vast cathedral of man's religion, the parts of the mighty pile are not all alike. The earliest remains are clumsy and uncouth. In choir and transept there are inequalities of style. Buttress and arch sometimes interfere with one another,

and meaningless monuments block up the view. Yet, as you climb from crypt to pinnacle and spire, you find that the builders have builded more wisely than they knew. Even the plan that was outgrown pointed the way to a nobler work. The ancient stones often serve new uses, and differences of detail minister to the unity of the whole. When you traverse its aisles and see the throng of worshippers that no man can number, ask them not too curiously in whose name they have come, but remember that in all ages wisdom entering into holy souls maketh them friends of God and prophets. If the windows seem narrow and gloomy, forget not that, after all, it is one light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world. And should the accents of the preacher seem strange, be not impatient of the sermon: you are, perchance, listening to thoughts wrapped in an antique speech which have served in the life of the race to sustain the trusts

> Which are the master-light of all our seeing,
> Uphold us, cherish, and have power to make
> Our noisy years seem moments in the being
> Of the eternal Silence.'

These, I think, were the most important things which I learned from him in the lecture-room; the value of the historical method of theological as much as of any other form of knowledge; the globe-wide supply of relevant materials for that study: the propriety and profit of sympathetic insight into forms and beliefs and practice alien from our own traditions.

I have not spoken about his treatment of Christianity. That subject was only indirectly in his department. But, of course, he applied the same principles to its study; and readers of his book on *The First Three Gospels, their Origin and Relations*, will know how rigorously he applied the methods of the Higher Criticism to the New Testament, and how a miracle or a myth in Christianity was to him no more and no less than a miracle or a myth in Buddhism or Zoroastrianism. And they will know at the same time how unjustified is the timidity which hesitates to apply to the

origins of Christianity and the Person of its Founder the same principles which are giving to the Old Testament a new intelligibility and power of inspiration. Or his Essex Hall lecture (1895) on 'The Relation of Jesus to His Age and Our Own' might serve to show how little that criticism was an obstacle to the perception of the mighty energy of the spirit of life which was in Jesus Christ.

But Christianity to him was also a part of world history, and to him the Ecclesia was not a Christian perquisite or salvation a Christian monopoly. I never hear the maxim quoted 'Securus iudicat orbis terrarum' or hear the Vincentian canon 'Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus' recalled in the Christian controversies without wishing that those who use them might have learned from him how wide is the *orbis terrarum*, the *semper*, the *ubique*; and that they might remember affectionately the ancestors of those eleven hundred millions or so who belong to the *omnibus*. It is reported that St. Augustine was delighted when he heard uttered on the stage the Terentian line

Homo sum : humani nihil a me alienum puto,

and broad-minded theologians have often used it in a noble spirit. But not to many teachers has it been given to conceive humanity so widely and so generously that the idea of the unity of the race and the fraternity of all human experience and aspiration became a permanent possession in the minds of their students.

IV

The intimacies of college days were sustained and extended in the after years. I don't suppose he ever lost sight of an old student of his. He remembered them spontaneously, sending one of his beautifully written and conceived letters upon the occasion of a wedding, the birth of a child, a change of ministry,

a publication, a bereavement. Or he would send an author's copy of one of his books with a friendly greeting to make the gift still more kind.

If ever some of his students had felt at College that he was a little remote from their real life, they understood later that the cause was in a sensitive delicacy of feeling that would not encroach upon the individuality of another. They could recall that they never heard from him a discourteous, impatient, or mean word, and never a censorious judgement. And in the minds of some of them there would be now and again an echo of ancient pathetic words: 'How often would I have gathered you as a bird gathers her brood under her wings'.

I have already expressed the feeling that his own heart was more in the cure of souls than in professorial work. It is only by that feeling that I can account for his humility of comradeship with those who entered into the active work of the ministry. He gave them credit for abnegations and heroisms that, however undeserved, made them more conscious of their privileges, and more anxious to be worthy of their function. He even abased them at times by seeking something from the poor wisdom or scanty spiritual experience they had gathered in their own contacts with the larger world, and he enriched them by the simplicity with which he would talk with them about the mysteries and sanctities of the heart.

Some other contributor to this volume may have recorded something of the beautiful friendship between Dr. Carpenter and Dr. Philip Henry Wicksteed. I know little of the details of it, but I know how Dr. Carpenter quickened at any recognition by others of the intellectual and religious power of his friend. And if any of his old students had written some small matter which they would have liked to dedicate to their old master, they could envy Dr. Wicksteed's power to

put their affection in a few brief lines, such as those that lie hidden away next to the title-page of *The Reactions between Dogma and Philosophy, illustrated from the Works of Thomas Aquinas*. They are these:

JOSEPHO ESTLIN CARPENTER
AMICE CONSTANTISSIME
DILECTISSIME
TU MIHI PRIMITIAS INGENII TUI
DEDICASTI JUVENIS
TIBI POST OCTO LUSTRA
MEMBRA HAEC LIBRI DISIECTA
SENEX RETULI

MAJORA VIRIBUS MEIS
TU SEMPER DE ME SPERABAS
MINORA HEU QUANTO SPE TUA
BENIGNE TAMEN ACCIPIAS.

Those who were engaged in the work of the Unitarian ministry continued to receive instruction from him now by another path. The principle of Manchester College is, as is well known, to study theological doctrines impartially, irrespective of doctrinal implications and sectarian affinities; and Dr. Carpenter as a College lecturer, or as a preacher in the College chapel, never uttered a word which could be interpreted as due to his sympathies with the Unitarian community.

When it was proper to the occasion, however, and there were occasions to which he was called where the business was theological declaration, he did not shrink from publicly expounding the kind of theology that to himself seemed most important, and from friendly comparison of that theology with others that were before the public.

He would confess that he could not himself share the belief that there was any absolute form of religion.

He would explain that his own studies convinced him that it was profitable to remember that Christianity is not the only form of Theism or the only vehicle of moral energy that history presents; and that it did not appear to him that the surviving records were adequate to justify the isolation of the Christian religion from the fraternity of human nature and normal human experience. On the other hand those records were adequate enough to convey that the central articles of the faith of Jesus were in the Sermon on the Mount and in the Parables of the Good Samaritan and the Prodigal Son much more than in any of the historic creeds of Christendom, and to suggest that the basis of Christian discipleship must be fixed there rather than in any theological developments of the post-Apostolic times. He was not intimidated by Roman Catholicism, though he recognized it as the most extraordinary hierarchy that the world has ever seen. He deplored the corrupting side of its influence, and the persistence of petty acts of ungenerous superstition, whether in Catholicism or Anglicanism, and the old leaven of dogmatism and exclusiveness still at work casting its baleful shadow over the thought and life of the masses. He would deny as a historian that the Incarnation doctrine accounted for either the foundation or the influence of the Christian Church; or that there was any particular merit in the fashionable apologetics of the moment interpreting the Trinity as a self-contained and inevitable Society, or attempting to reconcile the contradictions between the human and the divine elements in the doctrine of the Deity of Christ by the aid of strained interpretations of the Kenosis of Philippians. Nor could he allow that the contemporary battle-cry of the Evangelicals 'Back to Christ' was any solution of the problems of theology. It could not dispense with the processes of history to determine what Christ did and was; or with the labours of science and political economy to determine the ways

in which the Golden Rule could be applied to the elaborate organization of modern life.

But comment and criticism of this kind was only incidental to the exposition of a liberal Christianity theistic, ethical, and universalistic, based on history and the moral consciousness. He conceived that there might be at length in Christendom a Church coextensive with the world, concerned not with a theological post-mortem salvation from the fictitious wrath of God, but concerned first and last with the direct and perpetual warfare with ignorance and sin. Such a Church might provide a pathway to God open to all the races of the world and congenial to the universal moral experience of humanity. At the centre of it would be the message of Jesus that always and everywhere God's grace is freely given, that always and everywhere the Father's welcome is ready for those who seek him in humility and trust.

Those who knew him knew that such thoughts were not superficial credulities, but had been won out of the travail of thought and a persistent cherishing of conscience. No one would accuse him of a natural optimism: he was always haunted by the problem of evil, and in his historical surveys he did not ignore the pages which were red with violence. He could appreciate the standpoint which produced the phrase describing history as the record of the martyrdom of man. But he believed that the high purposes which have sustained mankind through its passing generations, and which keep rising again when they seem to have been cast down, are given from heaven, and that the hope of immortality may be reasonably cherished amid the struggles and calamities of terrestrial life.

The faith in immortality which he so powerfully and movingly expounded in his Sheffield National Conference address in 1897 on 'The Place of Immortality in Religious Belief' sustained him in his own

afflictions, and he used it simply and naturally for the comfort of others. One letter of his which I have seen runs thus:

'I am deeply distressed, beloved Friend, at the grief which has fallen upon you so suddenly. In these catastrophes I do not sorrow for those who go from us, for faith and hope make me believe that there is some other place of service which they may fill elsewhere. Surely all gifts of character and affection are carried on for use and development in new relations under the Father's care. But to you this sudden bereavement must bring inexpressible pains. All that you had given him, all that he had learned from you, all that he had laid up in promise of usefulness and distinction in coming years, passes beyond your ken, and you have only the precious memory of his love for you, and the sense of a place that can never be filled. It is very, very grievous, and nothing can make it otherwise. You will not, I know, ask why you should be stricken and not some one else. Of that complaint you are incapable. But so deep a wound may throw you back into yourself, and make work harder under a veil of inaccessible reserve. Forgive me if I rudely touch your hurt. I have not had the blessing of a son, and can only dimly know the suffering of its loss. But I know that you must suffer, and my longing is to tell you that I know it, and would help you if I could, as you doubtless have helped many another in his hour of need. . . . May you have courage to take up your work again by and by with a yet fuller power of insight into the heart of all who mourn.'

And a similar letter has these words:

'Your blessing moves and enriches me, and I thank you deeply for it. I have not had either your privilege or your loss. But I have seen three of my brothers and my niece caught away suddenly as in a mist of trouble from my sight, and have had to wait long till I could walk clearly under the open heaven. And I know that however the vision may be clouded for a time, it comes again in God's mercy to those who love and wait.'

Another public function to which he gave time in the midst of much other work was lecturing. He

carried out a programme among others for the British and Foreign Unitarian Association; and his *The Bible in the Nineteenth Century* reproduces some lectures which he gave from 1900 to 1903 in various towns in England, Scotland, and Wales. The object of such lectures was the awakening the interest of Christians in all Churches in the modern study of the sacred books of their religion. Other lectures were issued in pamphlet form, but some have not been published.

His name was not very well known to the general public, and except in University towns, his audiences were chiefly made up from the local Unitarian chapels. His lectures were perhaps too erudite for a general audience, and too much crowded with detail to be level to the casual untrained apprehension. There is, indeed, a story that after a course of lectures in one town on the history of the Messianic Idea as applied to Jesus, his host said to him, 'And now, Dr. Carpenter, would you be so good as to tell me the meaning of the word Messiah?' Nevertheless he always made a powerful moral impression, and I remember how when he had once given a lecture in a northern manufacturing town, the general judgement was that what he talked about did not seem to matter in the least, but it was so good just to see his noble face and form, and to feel his spiritual earnestness.

Still another public function was his Presidency of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association; and he made it carry with it a number of journeys to distant churches to carry encouragement. He was then growing older and his health deteriorating; and I recall how the committee of the Association sought to persuade him to do them the kindness of travelling first-class on the railways when he was visiting on their behalf. It was not easy to induce him to acquiesce in this small indulgence, and they rejoiced when they succeeded.

Also he served as President of the National Conference of Unitarian and Kindred Churches. That body determined to raise a large fund for ministers' pensions. He felt it was due to his office and his colleagues to undertake a heavy part of the actual collecting of the money; and though the task could not have been congenial, he spared himself no pains in travelling and interviewing. He told me of one of his experiences. He interviewed one possible donor from whom he hoped he might receive perhaps as much as ten pounds. He said he did not feel in the interview as if he secured much sympathy for his cause; and he had lowered or abandoned his hopes when he was told that the matter would receive due consideration. The next morning at his hotel imagine his gratification to receive a cordial letter with a cheque for a thousand pounds.

I close these imperfect memories of a deep-natured man, rich in intellectual gifts cultivated with persistent effort and self-denial; but to those who had the privilege of being near to him for a while, known to be richer still in the gifts of the heart. He never worked for human praise, or thought of complaining that there were few to care for the things for which he spent his life. Honours came to him towards the end, and of a kind for which he must have cared, lover of learning as he was. But the greatest joy of his life seemed to be that his old students learned to love him; and he gave back his love to them, good measure, pressed down, shaken together, and running over.

III

DENOMINATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES

BY birth and training, as well as by strong personal conviction, Dr. Carpenter was throughout life identified with the Unitarian denomination. In its service he gave freely of his time and strength, not only as scholar and teacher, but as practical organizer and administrator of Societies and Funds established in the interest of its well-being.

From 1869, when he entered on his ministry at Leeds, to the end of his life he was a member of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association. Twice he preached the Annual Sermon of the Association, in 1888 and 1909; following Mr. Stopford Brooke and Mrs. Humphry Ward, he gave the third of the Essex Hall Lectures, in 1895, on 'The Relation of Jesus to His Age and our own'; from 1916 to 1918, the darkest period of the War, he was president, and in 1916 edited the volume of essays, issued by the Lindsey Press, on *Ethical and Religious Problems of the War*, his own contribution being the essay on 'Aspects of Fatherhood'. In 1881, he had already contributed to the volume, *Ten Lectures on Positive Aspects of Unitarian Thought and Doctrine*, published by the Association, with a preface by Dr. Martineau, his subject being 'The Bible'. His last service in this connexion was the editing of the volume of essays, *Freedom and Truth; modern views of Unitarian Christianity*, issued in 1925 to celebrate the centenary of the formation of the Association. In a valuable Introduction to these essays by representative British and American Unitarians he wrote:

'The mode of Christian thought known as Unitarianism

derives its name from its doctrine of the Single Personality of God as Father in contrast with the Trinitarian conception of his Threefold Being as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. But its significance is imperfectly indicated by its title. Its real importance lies in its associated teachings concerning man, the Scriptures, and the nature and work of Jesus Christ.'

During the seven years from 1899, when he resigned his full professorship in Manchester College and the office of Vice-Principal, until he was recalled in 1906 to succeed Dr. Drummond as Principal, Carpenter was free to devote a considerable amount of time to public lecturing throughout the country, and that effort was still continued, in a lesser degree, for some years after his return to full work at College. On behalf of the Association he gave courses of lectures on biblical and theological subjects in the chief towns of England, Scotland, and Wales. From Aberdeen in the north to Plymouth in the south, in the course of those years, he visited some forty different places, involving him in many long and tedious journeys. The courses generally consisted of six lectures, but occasionally four or two. In the delivery of such public lectures of University Extension standard and type, on the modern study of the Bible and of Christianity from the point of view of scientific scholarship, Carpenter was a pioneer. The Board of Education in 1928 approved of courses of instruction 'which aim at the scientific study of the documents, history and philosophy of religion'; but thirty years ago the idea of promoting such studies would have been scouted. Carpenter's lectures were characterized by the scholar's scrupulous carefulness of statement and emotional restraint. There was no attempt to carry the audience off their feet by over-emphasis or oratorical display. He held their attention by a skilfully marshalled array of facts, clearness and cogency of argument, apt and telling quotation, and above all by the transparent

sincerity of his own mind. There was no 'speaking down' to his hearers; on the contrary, he immediately summoned them to high thinking. He poured out stores of knowledge from an alert and orderly mind without hesitation, often without recourse to a note. He invariably aimed at thoroughness, preferring to overload a lecture with details rather than hurry over his subject. His criticisms were incisive, but never abusive or unfair. In dealing with great themes he was incapable of flippancy or irreverence. A whimsical smile might pass over his face in quoting an unusually narrow or illogical observation made by an ecclesiastical dignitary, that was his nearest approach to humour.

Wherever he went the lectures were listened to by a considerable number of intelligent people. In Scotland and in Wales those on the 'higher criticism' proved particularly attractive and stimulating, doubtless because of a more intimate knowledge of the Bible in those two countries. Dr. W. Tudor Jones, who was Unitarian minister at Swansea when Carpenter preached and lectured there in 1902, speaks of the enthusiasm of those who were present, many of them young men, who listened intently to an analysis of the life and teaching of Jesus as recorded in the Gospels. The lectures on the Bible created a deep impression, and it speaks well for the intelligence of Swansea that week after week four hundred people attended. One evening the lecturer missed the train connexion on the way from Oxford and telegraphed that he would arrive very late. The audience resolved to await his coming, and the long interval was occupied in community and solo singing. When at last he appeared on the platform he was greeted with repeated rounds of applause.

In a letter to Mrs. Carpenter he tells of a lecture at Hull in 1905 when there was an audience of about three hundred. It was the last of a course of six on

'The Christ of the Creeds and of Experience'. He wrote:

'The bulk of the audience was quite ready to take wide views, at any rate for the time. Many came to shake hands afterwards, with words of thanks. Among others a middle-aged Salvation Army woman, with a rare expression of spiritual refinement and intensity, who said, "I have been blessed to-night". I heard afterwards that she had been every week.'

Readers of Carpenter's volume *The Bible in the Nineteenth Century*, published in 1903, and *The Historical Jesus and the Theological Christ*, 1911, will realize something of the quality of these courses of lectures and the wealth of scholarship and of religious instruction and stimulus they contained.

An interesting outcome of one brief course of lectures was the establishment of a Unitarian church at Cambridge, successfully crowning efforts which in earlier years had less permanent result. Four Sunday evening addresses on 'The Gospels and how to read them', delivered in 1903, led to regular weekly services during the University terms, the building of a lecture-hall, opened in 1923, as a permanent home for the congregation (now known as Carpenter Hall), and finally, through the munificence of George William Brown, a friend from the Leeds days and fellow-student at University Hall, a generous endowment of the ministry and the building of the church, opened for worship in January, 1928.

On the occasion of Carpenter's eightieth birthday, the officers and committee of the Association, in conveying their feelings of veneration and gratitude, spoke of the important services he had rendered to contemporary religious thought and life through the agency of their society. In his reply he said:

'For the opportunities which the Association has so often granted me of pleading for our conception of Christian faith,

whether by speech or pen, I have been deeply grateful. The expansion of its work since I first attended any of its meetings has quickened me with confidence in its presentation of religious truth, and hope for its increasing influence at home and abroad. To have been enabled to take a little part in the promotion of its aims has thus been a real privilege. In the conflict of opinions and the clash of institutions now raging round us its loyal adherence to the advance of knowledge, biblical and scientific, and its maintenance of the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty give it a special place among the agencies of our time.'

Reference has already been made to Carpenter's early efforts, during his Leeds ministry, to secure more instructed teaching in the Sunday School. During the London years, while in full work at College, he not only gave devoted service to the Domestic Mission Society, in the interest of the neglected poor, he set himself with characteristic energy and patience, through the agency of the Sunday School Association, to supply the need for more adequate hand-books of biblical instruction. Philip Wicksteed had led the way with his translation from the Dutch of the six volumes of the *Bible for Young People*. Carpenter's little book *Life in Palestine when Jesus lived*, published in 1884, was the first of a series of 'Biblical Manuals' by various writers, issued under his editorship, to which he added a further volume of outstanding importance on *The First Three Gospels* (1890). This, in subsequent enlarged editions, had a very wide circulation, and gained for the publications department of the Sunday School Association a reputation of high distinction.

To the *Sunday School Helper*, a monthly magazine for teachers founded in 1885, he contributed a series of lesson notes on the ministry of Jesus as recorded in the Gospel of Luke. Probably never before had such wealth of learning been made available in Sunday

School teaching. The methods and results of modern biblical criticism were described with entire freedom, but without a trace of dogmatism. In a letter to teachers, he urged them never to teach what they did not believe as though it were true; to make clear that they were talking about real people, places, and beliefs; to see that each lesson had one leading idea, and to be careful to study the views of different writers. The notes provided lessons for forty-eight Sundays in 1885 and for thirty-six in 1886; and although prepared so long ago they are still wonderfully 'modern'. Carpenter had looked forward to making some use of these notes in a projected book. Writing from Oxford, 16 March 1927, he said: 'I have planned a volume on the Lucan writings, but it is a bold thing to begin at 82, especially after such an attack as that of a fortnight ago. It is more for present interest and occupation than for future achievement.'

Following these Gospel notes, others were contributed in later years on the Biblical stories of Creation, the Origin of Evil, and the Flood. Teachers were in this way made acquainted with Comparative Religion, and learned that Hebrew, Hindu, Persian, Greek, and South Pacific Islander had many legends in common, none of which were records of actual facts. Papers on the Growth of Ideas concerning the Person of Christ in the New Testament, which appeared in the *Sunday School Helper* of 1894, must have tested the intelligence of teachers and elder scholars.

Further service to the denomination Carpenter rendered in connexion with the National Conference of Unitarian, Free Christian, and other Non-Subscribing or Kindred Congregations, the first meeting of which was held in Liverpool in 1882. (The Conference is now amalgamated with the British and Foreign Unitarian Association as a General Assembly of Unitarian and Free Christian Churches.) Carpenter

was keenly interested from the first in the aims and work of the Conference, and he gave to its undertakings constant and strenuous support. To the first meeting he contributed a paper on 'The Education of the Ministry', and at the Sheffield meeting in 1897 gave the address on 'The Place of Immortality in Religious Belief', which was separately published and also included in his joint volume with Philip Wicksteed of *Studies in Theology* (1903). He served as President for the three years completed at the second meeting in Liverpool, in 1903, when he not only gave the presidential address but preached the Conference Sermon. His last appearance was at the second Sheffield meeting in 1926, when he gave the address at the Communion Service and also made a powerful appeal for an additional capital sum, to enlarge the scope of the ministers' Pensions and Insurance Fund. His had undoubtedly been the most potent influence in securing the successful establishment of that Fund, which, like the earlier Sustentation Fund had its origin directly from the Conference. After the Leicester meeting in 1900, when the Pensions scheme was adopted, he travelled all over England to make individual personal appeals for support, besides writing innumerable letters; and it was not only in such devoted labour of individual appeal for the needed money that he gave himself to serve the churches and his brother ministers, but through long years on the Board of management both of the Sustentation and the Pensions and Insurance Fund there was no more faithful attendant, with patient grasp of detail, with wise counsel and ever-ready sympathy. For many years he was chairman of both Boards. Over the Pensions and Insurance Fund he presided from the first until within a year of his death. He lived to see the complete success of his final appeal for the establishment of the enlarged contributary

Insurance Scheme, which was due to the initiative of the Rev. C. J. Street, the hon. secretary of the Fund, and he was present at a meeting of the managers in March, 1927. A resolution of the Board after his death declared that the Fund would remain to future years 'an enduring monument of his beneficent spirit and ever-conscientious diligence'.

While Carpenter was President of the National Conference he also served in the same capacity at the first meeting of the International Council of Unitarian and other Liberal Religious Thinkers and Workers, held in London in May, 1901. This new undertaking had been planned at a meeting of British and American Unitarians held in Boston, Mass., in the previous year, and the great gathering in London revealed possibilities of wide religious fellowship of the greatest significance. Fifteen nationalities and eighteen different religious communities were represented, and Carpenter's presidential address struck the right note of world-wide sympathies and confidence in the essential truths of religion under its many forms of divers expression. Subsequent meetings were held at Amsterdam, 1903; Geneva, 1905; Boston, Mass., 1907; Berlin, 1910; Paris, 1913. For the volume of proceedings of the Berlin meeting, under the title 'International Congress of Free Christianity and Religious Progress', Carpenter wrote a brief preface, and what he said of that occasion may be taken as aptly describing the character of the movement as a whole:

'Freedom and progress were throughout the inspiring watchwords of the Congress. That there should be differences of view was inevitable, but diversity did not produce discord. Beneath all varieties of thought and expression lay the conviction of the profound importance of religion as a moral and spiritual force in human life. Among the themes which excited the most eager interest were its place in education, its share in

the social order, its influence on peace. Side by side with these were the large questions of modern theology, the results of recent study of the Bible, the personality of Jesus, the psychological and philosophical foundations of belief, the interpretation of man's moral nature. The speakers sought no fictitious unity. That which brought them together was not any authoritative identity of doctrine; they did not desire to produce any fresh confession of belief. But from day to day there grew a joyous sense of mutual understanding, a deep and solemn conviction of a great opportunity, the consciousness of a steadily advancing power. Lonely workers in distant outposts felt themselves no more isolated: they belonged to a great host with a common cause of liberty and truth.'

To the Amsterdam Congress Carpenter contributed a paper on 'The Place of Christianity among the Religions of the World,' which together with some earlier articles reprinted from the *Inquirer* was issued in book form, under that title. At subsequent meetings he also made valuable contributions: at Geneva on 'Recent English Study of the Origins of Christianity', at Berlin on 'Great Britain's Debt to Germany', and at Paris on 'The Attitude of Liberal Christians to non-Christian Religions'. After the tragic break caused by the Great War, so soon after the meeting in Paris, his was one of the first and the readiest of the healing influences, which helped to link up broken sympathies and make it possible for representatives of the religious life of the nations which had been in conflict to meet once more for brotherly understanding and to work together in true international fellowship. He was not himself able to attend the meetings of the Congress subsequently held, but his unshaken faith and loyal sympathy continued as an inspiration to his fellow-workers to the end.

Age, dignity, learning, willingness to serve combined to make Carpenter in his later years a conspicuous and revered personality in the Unitarian community.

Evidence of his commanding position was again and again witnessed at meetings when the whole company upstanding would acclaim him with heartfelt applause. Ministers were greatly attracted and influenced by him. His personal solicitude for men in illness, financial stress, or mental perplexity was unfailing, and sympathetic counsel and aid were bestowed with the utmost delicacy and tact. Men who were bent on pursuing a special course of reading and study received every possible encouragement. He inspired the formation of a Ministers' Institute at Oxford in 1892, and in April, 1927, the members sent him a message which testified to their abiding appreciation of all that he had done for them by his scholarship and his personal character. Those who succeeded in surmounting their own and his shyness and came into close friendship with him found their moral and intellectual vision quickened and enlarged by his vivid and gracious personality. Very many felt that to have known him was part of 'life's unalterable good'.

IV

THE SCHOLAR AND THEOLOGIAN: OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT

BY A. S. PEAKE

IT is a striking testimony to Dr. Carpenter's combination of versatility with expert knowledge that, in addition to the other fields which he cultivated with such success, he should have gained great distinction in both Old and New Testament study. It is interesting that his first literary enterprise was the editing of vols. iii–v of the English translation of Ewald's *History of Israel*. He was well under thirty when the first edition of vols. iii and iv appeared in 1871, and barely thirty when the fifth volume appeared. In vols. iii and iv he did about half the translation and edited the rest, while in the fifth volume which ran to more than five hundred pages, much the larger portion was his own work. He was to have translated *The Antiquities of Israel*, but this had to be entrusted to Mr. H. S. Solly.

Ewald died in 1875 and the situation in Old Testament criticism swiftly changed. It is essential for my purpose to explain the nature and reasons for this transformation. It was primarily concerned with the chronological sequence of the documents in the Pentateuch. It was generally recognized by critical scholars that four main documents could be distinguished—now known as J, E, D, and P. It was the merit of Hupfeld in 1853 to have established the existence of two Elohistic documents P and E. The problem was to determine the order in which the four documents were written. It was almost universally held that P was the earliest and that D, that is, the main body of Deuteronomy, was the latest, this being the Law Book of

Josiah's Reformation. In 1835—a year made notable by the publication of Strauss's *Leben Jesu*, and Lachmann's demonstration of Mark's priority to Matthew and Luke—Vatke published the first volume of his *Biblical Theology of the Old Testament*. The distinction between P and E had not, indeed, yet been recognized, though adumbrated by Ilgen. But Vatke anticipated what has come to be known as the Grafian theory, and in the same year George independently reached the same conclusion by a different route in his work on the Jewish feasts. But a little earlier still E. Reuss had communicated in his lectures at Strasbourg a number of theses in which this position was laid down. They were so revolutionary, however, that he did not venture to publish them, and it was left for his pupil, K. H. Graf, to raise the question again in 1865. It was universally believed at the time that the narratives in the Priestly document stood much nearer to the events and reflected them much more accurately than those in the other documents. Graf himself was so hypnotized by this belief that he separated the narratives from the laws and, allowing that the narratives were early, affirmed that the laws were late. This separation could not be maintained. Riehm demonstrated its illegitimacy and drew the inference that since they could not be separated and the narratives were confessedly early the whole document must be given the first place in the sequence. But obviously the opposite conclusion could be drawn. Kuenen, the famous Dutch scholar, at once put his finger on the same weak spot but reversed Riehm's inference. Since the division was impossible and the laws were demonstrably late the document as a whole must be given the last place in the sequence. This was fortunately accepted by Graf shortly before his death and thus the problem was stated in its correct form and further discussion on a false issue was avoided. Kuenen's

great *Religion of Israel* took the Grafian theory for its critical basis. In Germany, however, the hypothesis found no favour till the publication of Duhm's *Prophets* in 1875. Wellhausen had already accepted the theory and in his famous articles on 'The Composition of the Hexateuch' (1876–7) had made his adhesion to the Grafian theory clear. But it was the publication in 1878 of his *History of Israel*, vol. i (known in its later editions as *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*) which carried the Grafian theory to triumph.

I apologize for telling once more the story which must be familiar to many of my readers. I do so partly because of Dr. Carpenter's connexion with the English translation of Ewald, and partly because one of his chief contributions to Biblical scholarship was made in this field. He was an early convert to the new views. His journals show, as pointed out in the Memoir (p. 42, above), that he based his first course of lectures on the Old Testament at Manchester College (1875–6) on Kuenen.

He was accordingly exceptionally well equipped to act as one of the editors of *The Oxford Hexateuch*. His colleague was Mr. G. Harford-Battersby. In 1890 a committee of the Taylerian Society had sketched out a plan and made some experiments to determine the form in which the material should be presented. In 1891 the society was reconstructed and became the Society of Historical Theology with its head-quarters in Oxford. The question of proceeding with the plan came up at the meeting at which the new society had come into being. I was present at the meeting. Dr. Fairbairn hesitated as to the propriety of our undertaking the work on the ground, if I remember rightly, that the time was scarcely ripe. It was urged in reply by Mr. Upton that the publication of Driver's *Introduction* which had appeared that year made the situation much more favourable. The project was approved

and the committee appointed. It consisted of J. E. Carpenter, G. Harford-Battersby, E. I. Fripp, C. G. Montefiore, and W. B. Selbie. Professor Cheyne, our President that year, was associated with it for consultative reference in special matters. W. B. Selbie could not continue on the committee as he had left Oxford for London and his place was taken by G. B. Gray. I should have had the privilege and great advantage of working on it myself if I had not been leaving Oxford for Manchester. Had I done so I could have given a first-hand impression of Dr. Carpenter's handling of the many complicated problems involved; as it is I have only the finished work on which to base an opinion.

The committee, which had been strengthened by the addition of Professor Bennett, spent three years on the documentary analysis. The results were revised during another year and then the editors were commissioned to prepare the work for the press. It was not published, however, till 1900, when it appeared in two volumes under the title *The Hexateuch according to the Revised Version arranged in its Constituent Documents by Members of the Society of Historical Theology, Oxford.* In place of this rather lengthy title it is customary to refer to the work as *The Oxford Hexateuch.* The interval between the passing of the work by the committee and its publication was due partly to pressure of other duties, partly to the desire to incorporate the results of the most recent critical literature. It actually went to press in the autumn of 1898. The preface is dated 26 October, 1899; the date of the publication was 1900. The first volume contained the Introduction and tabular appendices; the second volume was devoted to the text, arranged so as to exhibit the analysis, and the notes.

The main burden of the enterprise rested on Dr. Carpenter. The documentary analysis was the work of

the whole committee. But the notes beneath the text, which gave the reasons for the analysis accepted and were sometimes very elaborate, were written by Dr. Carpenter. The Introduction, which was very lengthy, was written by him with the exception of a brief chapter on 'Criticism and Archaeology' contributed by Professor Cheyne. He also prepared the elaborate lists of words and phrases characteristic of the different documents with very full references. It should be added, however, that his fellow-editor placed at his disposal his first drafts of lists for J and E and of notes on Leviticus and the early chapters of Numbers. Mr. Harford-Battersby contributed a most valuable appendix on laws and institutions, followed by an excellent tabular analysis and synopsis of the Hexateuch.

It must, of course, be remembered that *The Oxford Hexateuch* did not stand alone. In 1879 Reuss had published the third part of the Old Testament containing the Pentateuch and Joshua, and to the translation and notes a very comprehensive Introduction was prefixed which presents perhaps the nearest parallel to Dr. Carpenter's. The German form of it was issued in 1893. A most elaborate and valuable *Einleitung in den Hexateuch*, which also appeared in 1893, was the work of H. Holzinger. It is a more technical work and much less adapted for the general reader. Mr. Addis had published an admirable work *The Documents of the Hexateuch*. It contained an original translation and the documents were printed continuously, an arrangement which had advantages of its own. There were also good introductions and some critical annotations, though on a much more meagre scale. The American scholar, Professor B. W. Bacon, had presented the commonly accepted results in his *Genesis of Genesis*; and in his *Triple Tradition of the Exodus* he had embodied the results of pioneering work of his own.

Without in the least depreciating the solid and sober work of Mr. Addis, or the brilliant investigations of Professor Bacon, it is only bare justice to say that for those who are seeking the best edition of the Hexateuch as analysed into its constituent documents, combined with an adequate critical apparatus and comprehensive treatment of the critical problems, *The Oxford Hexateuch* is by far the best. Mr. Harford-Battersby's appendix on laws and institutions placed side by side the laws in the different documents. The reader can thus see at a glance their divergence from each other and so gain a confirmation of the analysis; while, on the other hand, by carefully comparing them with each other he is able to reach conclusions as to the relative dates of the documents thus disengaged.

Dr. Carpenter's Introduction is a most admirably executed piece of work. The author did not forget that it was necessary to begin by convincing the student that documents have been combined in the Hexateuch. This has, in some instances, been too superficially skimmed over. In this respect the Introduction was very satisfactory. When the existence of documents has been demonstrated the next step is to sort the documents out. Here, of course, the analytic work had been largely accomplished so that the task was to present it in the most effective and convincing way. It was admirably achieved. The writer placed before the student a remarkably full collection of facts, exhibiting with great skill the converging lines of evidence in favour of the documentary analysis. It is difficult to see how any impartial reader could fail to be convinced by the evidence here accumulated. The author contrived to blend this presentation of the facts with the history of Pentateuch criticism. This gave the student the great advantage that he reached the critical results by the path which actually led to them, while the evidence was brought forward in a more interesting

manner. I need not say that the finer shades of criticism received due attention. The general critical standpoint was, of course, Grafian. The Law Book of Josiah's Reformation was identified, as by practically all critics at the time, with the Deuteronomic Code. This was thought to have been composed in the reign of Josiah, but Dr. Carpenter allowed that Hilkiah was probably not in the secret of those who prepared the way for the Reformation. It has been much debated whether the Law Book of Ezra was simply the Priestly Code or the whole Pentateuch. Dr. Carpenter accepted the former identification. The documentary vocabularies, that is lists of words and expressions characteristic of the different documents, are probably the fullest lists accessible to the student and they were drawn up with great care. They are in themselves, for any who will take the trouble to go through them and to note their distribution in the text, sufficient justification for the documentary analysis.

The second volume was entirely occupied with the text and notes, except that a special introduction was prefixed to the Book of Joshua. The text as distributed among the documents was printed in parallel columns, following what at first sight looked a somewhat intricate arrangement, but which a few minutes study sufficed to make perfectly clear. Notes were added, some of them very elaborate, but all designed to bear on the question of analysis and not in any degree intended as an exegetical commentary. Nowhere in English will the serious student of Hexateuch criticism find a more thorough refutation of the persistent charge that the literary analysis rests on arbitrary hair-splitting. It is obvious that in work of this kind much uncertainty must inevitably hang over details; all the more impressive, therefore, is the large unanimity of scholars with reference to the main results. The whole work was a great credit to English scholar-

ship and it left other works on the subject far behind. Since it built the whole fabric up from the foundations, it was eminently suited to the beginner; since it completed the structure to its minutest details, it was no less suited to the advanced student.

In 1902 the Introduction was published separately and in a more convenient form. It was now described as the work of J. Estlin Carpenter, so that due credit was given to him for the authorship. The section on laws and institutions was placed in an appendix, its author having now become George Harford. Substantially it was a new edition of the first volume, but it contained numerous additions dealing with work that had appeared during the previous four years. Some of the more elaborate material in the second volume was also included, such as a discussion of the different strata in the Priestly Code and the Introduction to the Book of Joshua. The volume was then, and still remains, by far the best and most thorough treatment of the whole subject.

When in 1913 I was planning my one-volume commentary on the Bible, I naturally invited Dr. Carpenter to write the article on the Pentateuch. As the volume was intended for the general reader, I thought it better to limit the subject to the Pentateuch rather than use the unfamiliar term 'Hexateuch' (i.e. the Pentateuch and Joshua). He was so burdened with other work that he felt at first he must decline my request; but fortunately he decided to accept it and wrote a masterly article in which the origin of the successive strata was brought into relation with Israel's religious development. I mention this not simply for its own sake but because the article demonstrates that the attacks on the critical theory which had been made in the meantime had not affected his confidence in the soundness of his position. The most notable assault at that time had been on the use of the criterion for

discrimination of documents afforded by the use of the Divine names Yahweh and Elohim. Naturally he was not in the least disturbed by it. He endorsed the very thorough and conclusive refutation given by Dr. Skinner in *The Divine Names in Genesis*. He reaffirmed the existence of the four main documents J, E, D, and P and arranged them in this chronological order. Deuteronomy remained the law book of Josiah's Reformation, P was the last of the series and later than Ezekiel which constituted the middle term between D and P.

Recently, however, the whole subject has passed into a new phase. The pivot on which the theory of the development turned was the identification of the Law Book of Josiah with Deuteronomy in some form. Deuteronomy created a situation which Ezekiel tried to solve and his solution in an extended form was adopted in P and carried back to the time of Moses. By common consent Deuteronomy and Ezekiel were fixed points in the development of Hebrew literature. P was therefore later than Ezekiel and since it was read by Ezra to the people at Jerusalem its date lay between Ezekiel and Ezra. All of these points are now in debate. Professor Kennett has denied the identity of Josiah's law book with the Deuteronomic Code, but Hölscher has put forward a reconstruction more far-reaching and revolutionary. It has commonly been held that Ezekiel presupposes Deuteronomy. If so, any attempt to bring Deuteronomy down into the Exile or later is difficult while Ezekiel remains where critics with practical unanimity have till recently placed it. Hölscher has parried this objection by the hypothesis that much the larger part of Ezekiel is considerably later than the prophet's own time. He has also followed C. C. Torrey in dismissing Ezra and his Reformation to the sphere of legend. The fixed landmarks, which the Grafians left unquestioned,

have in Hölscher's criticism disappeared. I am far from believing that his radical treatment of Ezekiel will find acceptance; and if it fails to do so Deuteronomy will probably remain where scholars since the time of De Wette have placed it and the Priestly Code will be regarded as later than Ezekiel. The Grafian criticism will thus remain substantially intact, whatever view be taken of Ezra and his relation to P. What I feel to be the most significant feature of Hölscher's reconstruction is that he accepts the Grafian sequence, D, Ezekiel, P. While the absolute chronology changes, the relative chronology remains. I have little doubt that Dr. Carpenter would have felt that the case for a revision of judgement had not been made out.

Nor do I think that he would have been disturbed by the attempts to push Deuteronomy back into the period of the early monarchy or the Judges. It may no doubt be urged that one who had given such hostages to fortune would not be likely when he was nearing eighty to admit that his elaborate demonstration had failed because the underlying assumptions had proved incorrect. I am sure that he would have been loyal to his passionate devotion to truth, and not allowed considerations of personal vanity to deflect his judgement. He was well aware of the dangers that age brought with it. In *The Bible in the Nineteenth Century* (1903) he said, 'The future, then, as always, lay with the young' (p. 25). But I think that he would have claimed that the Grafians had tested their assumptions before they built so imposing a structure upon them.

While it was in the criticism of the Hexateuch that his greatest work in the department of Old Testament study was done, he displayed an easy mastery over the whole field. This was most fully exhibited in his able and learned volume *The Bible in the Nineteenth Century*. It is true that he discusses simply the Law and Prophecy in detail and that the Historical Books, the Wisdom

Literature and the Psalms are not included in his survey. Early Lecture Notes printed for private circulation show how thoroughly the Historical Books had been studied, and I do not doubt that the same pains had been spent on Hebrew Poetry. The selection of subjects for discussion was partly determined by the purpose the lecturer had in mind. He desired to indicate the transformation in the view of the Bible effected in the nineteenth century. He gives a full and masterly account of the great change which prolonged study of the text itself and the new knowledge which has come from physical science and archaeological investigation have wrought in our conception of the Bible. A preliminary lecture is devoted to the struggle for freedom of inquiry. It sketches the history of the process through which our liberty has been secured. The story is at once depressing and exhilarating. It is almost incredible when we think of the freedom with which we, in this country at any rate, have been made free that only a few decades ago unfettered investigation was banned under terror of ecclesiastical censure and deprivation.

The second lecture is on the Revised Version. It gives a valuable sketch of the various movements towards revision from the seventeenth century onwards. Included in this is naturally some account of the labours of scholars in the construction of a more accurate text. Naturally the New Testament is at this point much more prominent than the Old. But while the lecturer admits that the revisers came to a safe decision in their recognition that in the present state of knowledge an attempt to reconstruct the Old Testament text on the authority of the versions could not be justified, he expresses well-founded regret 'that they have so rarely admitted that the existing Hebrew is no longer intelligible, and have insisted on finding a meaning where grammar and sense both fail.' In other instances,

he says, 'the conservative method of the Revisers seems to have prevented justifiable change' (p. 92).

The chapter 'Changed Views of the Law' naturally sketches the critical view, but on this it is not necessary to linger as the subject is far more thoroughly dealt with in his great work of which I have already spoken. It devotes some attention to typology, the queer system which found the antitypes of the Gospel prefigured by the types of the Old Testament. This, of course, found a special place in expositions of Leviticus. Of this 'inner meaning' the Hebrews were unconscious. It is perhaps worth while to quote Dr. Carpenter's pungent comment:

> 'The whole of the institutions under the Old Covenant were thus converted into a Divine drama, the significance of which was, however, hidden from the performers. Age after age the solemn ordinances imposed by Omnipotence were duly fulfilled, but priest and people were alike ignorant of what they did. The mystery was preserved for more than a thousand years. Not till the death of Christ did the commands of Heaven receive their meaning, and then they were superseded. The Law, according to this singular theory, only became intelligible at the moment when it was abolished.' (P. 109.)

The chapter closes with a discriminating estimate of the value of the Law and of its place in the development of the religion. It was 'the vehicle through which the truths of the higher Prophecy were preserved and adapted to the national life'. Through it 'Yahwism was consolidated and sent forth on a new career'. The Law brought the great prophetic principles 'into direct application to the circumstances of a community still in danger of frittering away the positive gains of prophetic thought. It thus accomplished what prophecy had been unable practically to achieve. In the piety of the Psalms we see the blossom of its idea of personal holiness'. In the Law 'is the root of the tenacity of Judaism, its stay through an age-long passion such as

no other people has endured'. The Law 'contained both shell and kernel. The shell might be hard and rigid; but it guarded the spiritual power of the true faith within, till the hour was ripe for it to burst forth into new life' (pp. 153f.).

The chapter 'Changed views of Prophecy' touches on the traditional view that prophecy was mainly prediction and that as history written beforehand it constituted one of the primary evidences of Christianity. It then sketches the rise and development of the modern criticism of the prophets and illustrates the critical treatment by more detailed reference to Isaiah and Daniel. This is followed by a rapid sketch of the development of prophecy with contrasts and parallels from Greek history. What perhaps strikes a reader familiar with the movement of the criticism and interpretation of the prophets during the last quarter of a century is that Dr. Carpenter limits himself to the outstanding results. The volume was published in 1903. Duhm's *Isaiah* and Wellhausen's *Minor Prophets*, the two books which opened a new stage in the discussion of prophecy and the prophetic literature, had appeared in 1892. Cheyne's *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah* followed in 1895. Save for the most incidental allusions the new problems find no recognition. No doubt the lecturer felt that for his audience and his readers the broad simple impression was what he wished to produce, but I find the self-restraint of the treatment remarkable.

In the quarter of a century that has elapsed since the volume was issued the subject has passed into new developments on which it would have been most interesting to have had Dr. Carpenter's highly competent judgement. For the distinguishing feature of the more recent study of the Old Testament is that it has taken on more and more of an international character. The earlier Old Testament scholars naturally explained

the Old Testament mainly from itself. Wellhausen and Robertson Smith went outside of it into the general Semitic field, above all Arabia, and into anthropology for the interpretation of the ritual. But the younger scholars investigated the religions of the surrounding peoples—Babylonia, Assyria, Phoenicia, Egypt—and have more recently taken special account of Canaan itself. I might mention the problems connected with the origin of Hebrew monotheism, of prophecy and of eschatology. Among the scholars who have contributed to this development special mention may be made of Gunkel, Gressmann, Sellin, and Eduard Meyer. It would have been exceptionally helpful to have had Dr. Carpenter's judgement on this development not only because of his freedom from prejudice but because his expert knowledge of the history of religion would have given him a peculiar right to speak. But the claims of his studies in Buddhism and in the New Testament had led him to break off his work on the Old Testament.

I turn now to his New Testament work. This occupies the greater part of *The Bible in the Nineteenth Century*, and a substantial part of *The Historical Jesus and the Theological Christ*. It is prominent in *Early Phases of Christianity* and with it *The First Three Gospels: their Origin and Relations* and *The Johannine Writings* are entirely concerned. In *The Bible in the Nineteenth Century* the discussion is practically limited to the Gospels, to which three lectures are devoted. The lecturer follows his usual plan of tracing the history of investigation and theory which, as in other instances, is so unfolded as to bring out many of the leading features of which account must be taken in reaching a final judgement. The lecture entitled 'The Gospels and the Early History of Christianity' passes in review the work of several scholars of whom we

may single out Reimarus, Griesbach, Baur, Strauss, Renan, and Keim. The next lecture, 'The First Three Gospels', falls into two parts, The Literary Investigation and the Historical Investigation. With these the student should take chapters v–vii in *The First Three Gospels*. The author agrees with the great majority of scholars in accepting the Two Document Hypothesis, that is that Matthew and Luke are based on Mark and a lost collection of discourses now commonly referred to as Q. He recognizes, however, that the first and third Gospels present phenomena which require supplementary hypotheses. He illustrates the development of the Synoptic material from the history of the origins of Babism. To this he recurs when he passes from the literary to the historical investigation, pointing to a growth in the miraculous element in the story of the Founder and to the account of his transfiguration, both of which he takes to be paralleled in the story of Jesus. Parallels are also found in the miracles recorded of the Buddha.

This chapter raises the still more important problems connected with the conceptions of the Messiah and the Son of Man. These, and indeed the problems generally, receive more explicit discussion in *The First Three Gospels* and especially in *The Historical Jesus and the Theological Christ*. It is well known that very serious questions are raised touching the view taken by Jesus as to the secret of His personality. The Gospels and the faith of the Church have identified Jesus with the Messiah and also with the Son of Man, and have believed themselves in so doing to be true to the consciousness of Jesus. It has been questioned whether Jesus believed Himself to be the Messiah or whether, if He believed it, He communicated His conviction to His disciples. Wrede, in particular, while he refrained from definite decision on the view of His Person held by Jesus Himself, was convinced that He never

claimed to be the Messiah. The early disciples, assured that Jesus had risen from the dead, drew the inference that He was the Messiah. But this naturally raised the difficulty, How is it that the Master Himself never proclaimed Himself as Messiah. In answer to this difficulty the theory of the Messianic secret was formulated. The demoniacs with their psychical sensitiveness had divined it; Jesus had Himself disclosed it to the inner circle. But the demoniacs had been silenced and the disciples forbidden to disclose the secret. This theory has rightly gained little acceptance, and Dr. Carpenter maintained that Jesus believed Himself to be the Messiah.

But he took a different view with reference to the problem of the Son of Man. On this there has been considerably more doubt. Dr. Carpenter took up a rather unusual position. He admitted that Jesus used the term with reference to the apocalyptic figure who was to come on earth at the consummation. But he did not believe that Jesus identified Himself with the Son of Man. It is undeniable that real difficulties attach to the usual view, and he regarded these as very weighty. When I published *The Messiah and the Son of Man* in which I had argued that Jesus did make the identification of the Son of Man with Himself, he wrote at once to me putting the difficulties he felt very forcibly. Connected with Jesus's conception of His Person was the conception He held of His vocation. Here the eschatological problem is raised. Dr. Carpenter recognized a substantial element of truth in the theory specially identified with the names of J. Weiss and A. Schweitzer; but he held that while the eschatological view was too deeply planted in the Gospels to be other than original, it was yet not inconsistent with the belief that the Kingdom was also in some sense present.

But whatever doubts attach to the conception held by Jesus as to His personality or His vocation, a

unique position is assigned to Him by Dr. Carpenter. After he has insisted on the vast change in our outlook on the universe he continues:

'But we go back to the Gospels for the fresh impulses and the abiding trusts of our religion. There is the impersonation of the prophetic ideal, where faith and conduct support and confirm each other. Historically, it cannot be denied that Jesus is the ultimate creator of the Christian character, the primal source of the Christian life. That character embodies the loftiest goodness that we know; that life is rooted deepest in the love of God and man.'

In this connexion I may call attention to his striking Essex Hall Lecture for 1895, *The Relation of Jesus to His Age and our Own*, which was reprinted in the valuable collection of essays by himself and Dr. P. H. Wicksteed entitled *Studies in Theology* (1903). It is written with great eloquence and power. Recognizing the immense gulf which separates His age from our own, and therefore the inapplicability to our conditions of the precepts of Jesus, he calls us back to His principles and the spirit in which they are steeped, 'which is the mightiest ethical force which history has seen'. And he emphasizes what is too often forgotten that Jesus is more than a teacher and the Gospels more than so many sketches of Utopia.

In view of the frequency of Dr. Carpenter's references to Buddhist parallels and the value of his opinion as an expert in both fields, I would call attention to what I believe to be his latest statement in his *Buddhism and Christianity*, pp. 179–81. He refers there to a fuller treatment in an essay on 'Buddhist and Christian Parallels, the Mythological Background' which he contributed to the volume of *Studies in the History of Religions* presented to C. H. Toy in 1912. In this he 'endeavoured to show a connexion between the Buddha's nativity and that of Apollo in the Homeric hymns, of which the priority could not be doubted'. He reached

the conclusion that 'there had been a common fund of imaginative decoration round great personalities in Western Asia to which both stories might have been indebted'. Of the four parallels accepted by Garbe he accepts only one, the story of Simeon and the infant Jesus, as to which he says, 'I am disposed to think there may be an application by Luke of some far-travelled reminiscence of the Indian sage's prediction of the destiny of the new-born babe to become the deliverer of a perishing world'. I call special attention to this because the frequency of his references in different books to the parallelism might naturally lead his readers to suppose that he believed the parallels to prove dependence of the Gospels on Buddhist sources.

In the fourth edition of *The First Three Gospels* the author added a concluding chapter entitled 'The First Three Gospels and their Historical Value'. The reason for the addition, he explained, was the recent challenge to the historical value of the Gospels made 'from opposite sides by the exponents of secularism and theosophy'. He had in mind Mr. J. M. Robertson as representative of the one and Mr. G. R. Mead in his work *Did Jesus Live 100 B.C.?* as representative of the other. The two books of Mr. Robertson which he criticized were *Christianity and Mythology* and *Pagan Christs*. Those who are familiar with Mr. Robertson's writings on the subject will remember the pertinacity with which he has returned again and again to this criticism. Dr. Carpenter says: 'Both of these works show wide reading; but they are disfigured by a recklessness of assertion, and a serious incapacity to estimate historical conditions which greatly impair their value.' And again, 'All the mythologies, Babylonian, Persian, Egyptian, Greek, meet already in Mr. Robertson's pages, though without any explanation of the process by which they coalesce in Christ. Assertion takes the place of argument.' The chapter is

valuable for more than its polemic. It closes with an admirable statement of historical results in which the career, teaching, and personality of Jesus are briefly sketched.

This is perhaps the place at which I might mention his early volume, *Life in Palestine when Jesus Lived*, a brief handbook contributed to the series 'Biblical Manuals' which he edited. It is a compressed and excellent statement of the conditions which formed the background of the Gospels. It describes the country itself, the people both Jewish and foreign, the social conditions, education and popular beliefs, the Government as exercised by Romans, by the Herods and by native tribunals, religion in its public institutions, its sects and parties and its Messianic expectation. It does not claim to be an original work, but to be a compilation from the material amassed by scholars.

Of Jesus Dr. Carpenter once spoke as 'the most significant figure in human history'. But the title of one of his books, *The Historical Jesus and the Theological Christ*, expressed sharply his sense of the gulf which separated the historical figure from the Christ of the Councils and the Creeds. With the theological problems we are not concerned, but it is chiefly in this connexion that he speaks of Paul. It is, indeed, remarkable that in his books Paul finds so little place. The Synoptic Gospels are discussed over and over again, and the Johannine literature is the subject of one of his largest books, though it is true not completed till 1926. His attitude to Paul was sympathetic but discriminating. But although he used the brief space he allotted to the Apostle and his conception of Christianity to advantage, it is regrettable that he has left us nothing comparable with his treatment of the Fourth Gospel or the Apocalypse.

In 1927 he published his last work *The Johannine Writings*. This is a study of the Book of Revelation

and the Gospel of John, but for the sake of completeness an Epilogue is added on the three Johannine Letters. This, however, is very brief, running only to seventeen pages, while the main body of the work covers more than four hundred and fifty. The volume is based on two courses delivered at the Oxford Summer School, though naturally in its printed form it is far more detailed than the lectures themselves could have been. The book, as we should anticipate, is very full and thorough, in touch with the best literature but exhibiting everywhere full mastery of the material and independence of judgement.

With his treatment of the Book of Revelation I was in great sympathy. When I published my own volume, *The Revelation of John*, he wrote to express his emphatic agreement with the view I took as to the symbolism of the Apocalypse. Account was taken of one important book, which both Dr. Charles and I might be excused for missing since it was published in 1914. This was Boll's *Aus der Offenbarung Johannis*. He had already written on it in the *Hibbert Journal*. It has left its mark on the commentaries by Loisy and Lohmeyer.

For the sake of those who are unfamiliar with the subject, I may indicate the general course which the modern criticism and interpretation of the Apocalypse has taken. In the first place it was clearly recognized that the book was a member of a large class. It was to be bracketed not only with the Book of Daniel but with a number of Apocalypses such as the Book of Enoch. It had further been recognized that it was to be explained out of the contemporary historical situation. Down to the eighties of the last century the book was supposed to have originated before the destruction of Jerusalem in A. D. 70, but from that time the opinion rapidly gained ground that its historical background was the age of Domitian. During the eighties another momentous step forward was taken. Serious doubts

were expressed as to the unity of the book and several theories as to the documents employed in its composition were propounded. In 1895, Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos* appeared. This called a halt to the theories of documentary analysis by its contention that the book embodied a very ancient apocalyptic tradition which went back to Babylon. In its development through thousands of years and in different countries it naturally included inharmonious elements which could thus be accounted for without recourse to the theory that documentary sources had been combined.

It became clear to scholars generally that these various elements must all have their validity recognized. The historical conditions of the first century filled a very important place in the mind of the author. The advocates of earlier or of later dates also had their justification because elements of different dates were actually present in the book. Nor was it easy to deny that earlier sources had been incorporated. Yet, on the other hand, the book did not originate through the mechanical juxtaposition or interweaving of documents, it was the work of an author in the true sense of the term, who had indeed employed earlier material. And the apocalyptic tradition was really present as Gunkel had argued.

Writing apparently in the early nineties the author anticipates that a terrible persecution will almost immediately burst upon the Church. An awful conflict will soon be raging in this lower world. The protagonists, indeed, are in the unseen world. They are the Dragon and the Lamb. Foiled in his attempt to slay the Messiah, who has been caught up safely into heaven and sheltered at the throne of God; baffled in his pursuit of the heavenly woman, the mother of the Messiah, who has escaped into the wilderness; defeated in battle by Michael and flung out of heaven upon

earth, the dragon rages against the Church. His fury is all the more intense that he knows his time to be so short. All his hatred against the Church must find expression within three and a half years. He uses as his instrument the Beast, the Roman Empire, or that Empire as concentrated in the person of the emperor. The worship of the emperor was pursued with ardour in the Provinces, and nowhere with greater fanaticism than in the Province of Asia. In the impending conflict the Christians can only suffer. And suffering will mean martyrdom. Refusal to worship the emperor or his image will be punished by death. The souls of the martyrs under the heavenly altar cry out for vengeance on their persecutors and are bidden to control their impatience. For before vengeance can be taken the tale of martyrs must be complete. But the very desperateness of the situation is a ground for encouragement, it testifies to the dragon's knowledge that his time is short. And while the fact that he has been cast out of heaven is his first defeat in a losing campaign, the Christian knows that the Messiah is safe in heaven, ready to come forth and complete his conquest when the hour of destiny strikes. Then the dragon would be cast into the abyss for a thousand years, while the martyrs would be rewarded by sharing in the first resurrection and reigning with Christ for a thousand years. The particular emperor, with whom the Beast is more specially to be identified, is probably Nero. In an earlier form of the legend he was expected to return from Parthia, in the later form from hell. It is difficult to believe that the writer regarded Domitian as a re-incarnation of Nero.

I have said so much to indicate what may be regarded as the generally accepted modern view as to the historical situation which lay behind the book and the development which the author anticipated. With this position Dr. Carpenter was in general agreement. It

is not possible to trace in detail his very thorough and excellent discussion of the book. There is, of course, abundant room for difference of view as to points of interpretation, and here and there I am inclined to dissent from the view he has taken, but with his treatment of the book in general and very largely in detail I am in cordial sympathy. In particular I welcome the sobriety of the exposition. The author had no more use for the spiritualizing interpretations than he had for our millennium-dating enthusiasts who find a history of the Church and the world, from the author's day to our own, foreshadowed in the book. On the authorship he is quite emphatic that the Christian prophet to whom we owe it is not to be identified with the author of the Fourth Gospel.

It was fortunately possible for him to express his judgement on two recent speculations as to the literary history of the book. It is well known that a good deal of difficulty has been felt in the description of the closing scenes. Dr. Charles has suggested that the prophet could not complete the revision of his work and that a stupid disciple prepared it for publication and arranged the sheets at the end in wrong order. Dr. Charles has proposed a reconstruction of the original sequence. So far as I have been able to observe, this clever rearrangement has not met with acceptance. Dr. Carpenter is unable to accept it and thinks that it is not successful in overcoming the incongruities (p. 175). Dr. Oman, who feels that mere inspection of Dr. Charles's reconstruction is sufficient to warrant its rejection, has proposed a far more drastic rearrangement. He believes that an accident happened to the manuscript similar to that which Bickell believed to have occurred in the case of Ecclesiastes. My own feeling about this most ingenious rearrangement was that the objections to it grew with detailed examination. Dr. Carpenter devotes a couple of pages to it; but,

with the fullest tribute to the immense skill and patience bestowed on the redistribution and with the recognition that it is 'a very remarkable experiment', he expresses 'a respectful dissent both from its governing idea and from the results which are based upon it'. I may add that a new book by Dr. Oman appeared in 1928 in which he presented his theory in a revised form. I regard this as an improvement on the earlier work, but remain very dubious as to the whole theory.

It is regrettable that Lohmeyer's commentary did not reach Dr. Carpenter till his own MS. had gone to press. It is a very remarkable work, first for its emphatic assertion of the unity of the Apocalypse, which is guaranteed by its elaborate scheme; secondly for its breach with the usual view that the book originated in the contemporary situation; and thirdly for the writer's readiness to admit that the Fourth Gospel and the Epistle may be by the same writer, who cannot possibly be the Apostle John but is probably to be identified with the Presbyter John mentioned by Papias. A criticism of this rather reactionary theory by a scholar so well equipped as Dr. Carpenter would have been valuable. I think it highly improbable that he would have been convinced by it.

I pass on to the discussion of the Fourth Gospel. To this he had devoted a lengthy chapter in *The Bible in the Nineteenth Century*, dealing with the criticism and the ideas. A fairly long section in *The Historical Jesus and the Theological Christ* is given to the Christology of the Gospel. But naturally his treatment in *The Johannine Writings*, which fills more than 260 pages, is much more thorough and comprehensive, though less on the side of criticism, whether literary or historical, than of ideas. He has no shadow of misgiving on two negative conclusions: (*a*) the Gospel was not written by the Apostle John; (*b*) it was not written

by the author of the Apocalypse. But he had no definite view as to the identity of the author. He says: 'I have no clue to the secret of this rare and lofty genius any more than anyone else, and I can offer you no solution of the mystery of its composition.' Following the lead of E. Schwartz, many recent critics have accepted the view that John the Apostle was put to death by the Jews in Palestine, and this myth, as I must regard it, seems to be rapidly hardening into a critical dogma. Still more difficult to believe is the hypothesis that he was executed by Herod Agrippa along with his brother James. The latter is decisively set aside on chronological grounds by Dr. Carpenter (p. 216). He is very dubious about the whole hypothesis, but says that if the story is true 'he probably perished like James the brother of Jesus at Jerusalem before the destruction of the city in A.D. 70 and could not have written a Gospel at Ephesus'. It has been generally held by recent scholars that the author of the Gospel was a Jew, and Dr. Carpenter agrees with this, rejecting the belief of Loisy and Grill that he was a Greek. He sympathizes with the view of Professor Burney and Mr. G. R. Driver that the author *thought* in Aramaic; though presumably he would not have accepted the hypothesis of the former (shared, though on largely different grounds, by Professor Torrey) that the Gospel was actually written in Aramaic. On the burning question as to the relation between the New Testament writers and the Mystery Religions, Dr. Carpenter has not said very much. In his *Phases of Early Christianity* (p. 275) he says in a foot-note with reference to Paul: 'The few affinities of language are sufficiently explained out of current usage'. In *The Johannine Writings* he allows that Paul's 'own outlook on the world was not unaffected by contemporary Hellenistic conceptions', and that he could 'use the terms of contemporary Hellenistic speculation'. This has a bearing

on the ideas of the Fourth Gospel. The Pauline Gospel was, he says, the foundation on which the fourth evangelist built. Since the publication of Reitzenstein's *Poimandres* (1904) the question as to the relation of the Hermetic literature to early Christian thought and to the Fourth Gospel in particular has been a good deal discussed. Dr. Carpenter's conclusion may be stated in his own words:

> 'With some common religious terminology, and corresponding appeals to analogous phases of inner experience, the Hermetica and the Fourth Gospel appear wholly independent. Each makes its contribution to the spiritual life of its age in its own form. Each seeks the knowledge of God, and each finds it in a communion opened to the soul from the Divine side by an act of grace. The Greek mystic realises it through Nature, the Christian through Christ.'

One of the most interesting and indeed startling developments in recent discussion has been the relationship of the Fourth Gospel with the Mandaeans. All who are familiar with the most recent German commentaries on the New Testament are aware of the way in which the parallels with the Mandaean literature are registered. This is so in particular with the second edition of Walter Bauer's commentary on John in Lietzmann's *Handbuch zum Neuen Testament* (1925). Bultmann, to whom the Commentary on John in *Meyer* has been entrusted, has devoted some important essays to the subject. He believes that the teaching of John the Baptist was of the type represented in the Mandaean books. Since Jesus was originally attached to the movement of John, His teaching, Bultmann urges, resembled that of John the Baptist, and it is out of the Baptist's teaching that the Fourth Gospel is to be understood. The Fourth Gospel is, it is true, in its literary type dependent on Mark and has been influenced by Hellenistic ideas. But allowing for this

the Fourth Gospel is much nearer to the gnosticism of John the Baptist than is the Synoptic tradition and therefore more faithfully reflects the actual teaching of Jesus. The situation would provoke the mirth of conservatives. It has been axiomatic with the more advanced scholars that the Johannine theology represents the climax of development in the New Testament and that, as a presentation of the teaching of Jesus, it is quite unhistorical, being based on the theology of Paul. Now it is claimed by Bultmann, himself a very advanced critic, that it is more authentic than the Synoptic representation which is due to Judaizing reaction. Dr. Carpenter's comment is not unnatural.

'These are startling novelties. Students will wait till the Mandaean texts have been completely translated, and their contents thoroughly sifted. Such hypotheses will need a very firm basis. At present these speculations have only been flung out into the air.'

This is a salutary warning and the need of it is evident from an article by Professor Burkitt on 'The Mandaeans' in *The Journal of Theological Studies* for April 1928. This is based on Dr. Pallis's *Mandaean Studies*. He regards the work of the Danish scholar as important, and closes a valuable essay with a warning against the view of the Mandaeans which lies behind Bultmann's theory. His verdict is: 'Mandaeism may be interesting in itself, but it is useless to go to it as a key to unlock the mysteries of Early Christian development.'

The chief value of Dr. Carpenter's volume lies of course in the very full exposition of the Johannine teaching. On the question of the relation in which the Prologue stands to the main body of the Gospel he seems to sympathize with the view that, if it was written by the author and not prefixed by a redactor, it nevertheless represents a later stage in the writer's develop-

ment. He quotes with a measure of approval Dr. Stanton's judgement that the Gospel 'reflects Christological beliefs which he had held, modes of thought to which he had become accustomed before he grasped the Logos idea and applied it to the Person of Christ'. On the detailed exposition of the teaching contained in the Gospel it is not necessary to linger.

I may, in closing this discussion of Dr. Carpenter's contribution to Old and New Testament scholarship, be permitted to strike a more personal note. My friendship with him covered a period of more than thirty-five years. Owing to my removal from Oxford in 1892, I saw much less of him than if I had remained. But as I was frequently in Oxford for several years after I went to Manchester I had opportunities of contact with him, and he showed me a good deal of kindness. I heard in Manchester his course on 'The Bible in the Nineteenth Century' and took the chair for him at the first lecture. I had the greatly valued privilege of staying with him when I was lecturing for an Oxford Summer School of Theology on the Pauline Theology. I attended a good many of the lectures and was greatly struck by his singular gift of finding the fitting word to say at the close of each. I do not mean merely the gracious courtesy which always marked those utterances, but the ease and mastery with which he seized and enforced the significant points as only a scholar and thinker of great range could have done. No difference of theological opinion chilled the warmth of his appreciation or compromised the fairness of his tribute. I heard him preach a striking sermon in connexion with the school. And it was quite beautiful to see the simplicity and tenderness with which in a baptismal service which followed after the ceremony had been performed he spoke to the parents. Many knew him more intimately than I did, but I knew him well enough to recognize the loftiness

and nobility of his character. And I could appreciate, though from a distance, the strength and penetration of his intellect, the width and the depth of his learning, and the sanity of his judgement. When we think of a life so prolonged and so filled with work of such variety and such distinction we can only be grateful for so fine an achievement and for a life so elevated.

V

COMPARATIVE RELIGION: PALI, AND THE RELIGIONS OF INDIA

BY L. R. FARNELL

ESTLIN CARPENTER achieved the double life of the administrator and scholar. He worked wisely and well not only in the practical sphere of religious duties, but also in the field of religious scholarship, without which no one can be perfectly equipped as a minister of any religion. And such a career with its two-fold interest may be counted happier than one restricted wholly to practical or theoretical activity. His earlier studies in Christian scholarship gradually expanded until they embraced the whole sphere of Comparative Religion. And it is specially with his work in this latter department that this chapter is concerned. He must have been attracted to it by a natural trend, by the strength and breadth of his religious sympathies and imagination. Also, his own Christian belief was less formal, less incisively dogmatic, than that proclaimed by most of the Christian churches or sects; he was therefore not debarred from appreciating with genial sympathy whatever there was of noble or spiritually impressive in the message or utterances of non-Christian theology.

But his special impulse towards this line of study may have arisen from, if it did not itself inspire, his interest in the Pali language and its religious literature. And this may to some extent have been evoked by his deep friendship with Professor Rhys Davids, the founder of the Pali Text Society in 1881. This enterprise, so pregnant of results for oriental scholarship, owed its successful inauguration and early development mainly to the generous help of Estlin Carpenter. Nor

was he content with such aid as a patron and organizer can give; but he prepared himself by careful study to become a distinguished authority in the interpretation of Pali texts. And for many years he worked in collaboration with Rhys Davids on the most important work of Pali religious literature, the Dīgha-Nikāya, of which he had finished the first part as early as 1886. Three volumes were brought out in 1889, but the complete first edition was not finished till 1910. Carpenter's labours, therefore, in Pali extended over a period of at least thirty years and led him farther afield into the study of the Sanskrit language and to an ever-deepening interest in the religions and religious thought of India. The few scholars competent to judge his work on the Pali texts have expressed warm appreciation of it; and such work served as a valuable equipment for his researches in Comparative Religion.

In this study there are certain difficulties and pitfalls, which account for the rarity of success in it. A great deal of the research necessary for a wide comparison must be at second-hand; for as the longest lifetime would not suffice to make one an authoritative master in the interpretation of the religious texts of Palestine, Greece, Rome, Egypt, India, Mesopotamia, Persia, China, Japan—to mention only the great areas of religion—the scholar is obliged to rely on the translations and expositions of others who are specialists in a particular field, and he may incautiously accept a wrong interpretation of documents where much uncertainty and controversy prevail. To obtain adequate success, the writer on Comparative Religion, besides being of well-balanced and unprejudiced judgement, must have studied *au fond*, with first-hand knowledge of the documents, at least two of the great world-religions. Only thus is he likely to obtain a sure standard for testing comparisons, and a vivid sense of the dominating influences and factors in religious life;

and in this science—if it is a science—the critical faculty is greatly dependent on the religious imagination and this on the strength and depth of the personal religious experience. In all these ways Estlin Carpenter was well prepared by nature, study, and experience for the task he set himself.

Having then by long study and thought acquired a thorough and scholarly knowledge of the documentary bases of Christianity, and possessing deep religious enthusiasm for its spirit and ideals, he was happy in his choice of Indian religion as his sphere of further comparative research. For no other of the great world religions offers so many points of comparison, whether by way of likeness or contrast, with our own; also nearly every conceivable problem in the philosophy of religion has been pursued or mooted in some utterance of Indian thought. As regards the religions of Greece and Rome, Egypt and Anatolia, Assyria, Babylon, Persia, China, and Japan, which must come within the purview of the comparative student, Carpenter obtained such general acquaintance as can be got from wide and judicious reading of the works of others, and he uses it with good effect in some of his papers and addresses—as will be shown—where a rapid and extensive survey was necessary. If the main object of his life-study had been to explain the origins and growth of early Christianity, he would probably have been better advised to have concentrated on the Hellenic, Judaic, and Anatolian religions. But his quest was wider. He sought religious light, wherever it could be found; and he found it gleaming, though fitfully, through long periods of India's spiritual history, especially from Buddhism.

Most of his work is on the higher lines of thought and belief. But he was well aware and appreciative of the value of anthropology, a young science fathered mainly by Tylor and struggling for existence during

the early 'eighties. And he took care, as will be shown, to familiarize himself with its problems and its point of view.

It may now be of interest to describe in some detail his writings that bear on the History of Religion. Among the earliest may be noted a short treatise on 'A Century of Comparative Religion, from 1800–1900' which was a reprint from *The Inquirer* (p. 41), giving an interesting and lucid account of the progress of thought throughout that century. He marks with just appreciation the momentous discovery about 1840 of Vedic-Indian religion and literature, and he rightly estimates our indebtedness to the genius of Max Müller, the father of Comparative Mythology and to some extent of modern Comparative Religion, and the father also of many fallacious conceptions that have perished. He then dwells on the deep significance for early religious history of the discoveries and interpretation of the monuments of Egypt and Mesopotamia, and of the text of the Zend-Avesta; at the same time he does justice to the value of the works of Tylor, Lang, Frazer, Robertson Smith, for tracing the religious evolution of man. He also shows himself aware, as few were at that time, of the striking parallelisms between the Buddha-legend and the Christian, and he was convinced that the study of Buddhism 'could not fail to have a profound influence on our conceptions of Christianity'.

About the same time, in 1890, he composed an address that was delivered in Manchester College on 'The place of the History of Religion in Theologic Study', an eloquent plea for including in a liberal theological education a comparative study of the other religions of the world. He expresses here his conviction that such a study will save the Christian student 'from clinging to beliefs and institutions that have lost their meaning'. The inner trend of his thought is

revealed by certain passages where he points to the close likeness between Christian and Egyptian eschatologic ideas and between the miraculous character of Christ and of Buddha. And he quotes here—as he quotes more than once elsewhere—a maxim from Justin Martyr, which, as he naturally regrets, was not the guiding principle of the later Church, 'whatever things have been rightly said among all men are the property of us Christians'.

Perhaps about this date was composed a sermon or address by him, which only exists in manuscript, entitled 'Christianity and Comparative Religion', in which he does not discuss in detail what Comparative Religion has done or could do for the study of our own religion, but contents himself with showing how our traditional view of it must be modified by our critical investigation of other systems of faith. At the same time, while he insists on the necessity of re-interpreting it as the ages change, he dilates on the astonishing vitality that it always retains. He then proceeds to give a warm and sympathetic sketch of Buddhism, tracing its origins in earlier Hindu thought and its development of ideals that vividly remind us of the Christian, especially its ideal of salvation by faith. He gives us here no penetrating analysis or comparison, but only induces an impression of the kindred spirit of love and unselfishness that pervades both religions, the various Buddhas being believed to

> 'Absent them from felicity awhile,
> And in this harsh world draw their breath in pain',

to work for the redemption of all mankind. The closing words of the paper may be quoted as revealing his point of view most clearly: 'No student of the history of religion will assert that all forms of experience are of equal worth; but he will be at the same time clear that none can possess a monopoly of truth.

The distinctions of an older day between "revealed" and "natural" will drop away, and with them will disappear the exclusive claims of dogmatic churches and the pleas of lordship by authority. And if something precious seems to vanish with them, the loss will be compensated by an ampler gain. Instead of a world of darkness, irradiated only by one spot of light, we see the whole progress of human thought slowly advancing along divers paths towards clearer truth, and the immense resources of the moral experiences of the race converging on a common testimony to the education of the children of men as sons of God.'

There were not many ministers of religion at the time when he wrote this who could have proclaimed so frankly that the distinction between natural and revealed religion was obsolete. And, in spite of some progress hardly won by recent thought, the distinction still clouds the minds of many in our western civilization. Until he has freed himself from it, no one can study Comparative Religion with any effect.

That his studies in this field were markedly widened in the next few years is shown by the long article that he wrote for Baldwin's *Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology* on 'Oriental Philosophy and Religion', which was reprinted in Oxford for private circulation in 1902. It is a thoughtful and lucid sketch of the main and essential features of the religious thought and belief of Egypt, Babylon, Assyria, Persia, India, and China; but one discerns that his special interest is Buddhism and its spread throughout the oriental world. The sketch is interesting and shows penetration in the handling of the philosophic subtleties of India, but it covers too vast a ground to achieve special results. And for some years his printed output consisted mainly of short papers dealing with the large problems that interested him in this most varied field of research.

A somewhat ampler treatise was published by him in 1904 on *The Place of Christianity among the Religions of the World*, the last chapter of which was a lecture delivered by him at Amsterdam in 1903. Such a public utterance there is interesting in view of the fact, on which he himself comments in this treatise, that when Chantepie de la Saussaye published his general *History of Religions*, one of the foundation-books of our study, he deliberately omitted Christianity from the fear of giving offence; also, the writer of this memoir remembers certain expressions of wonder that fell from Cumont, when visiting Oxford many years ago, on the 'Lehr-Freiheit' that prevailed here and which allowed us to lecture on subjects that would have been dangerous at Ghent. But Holland has now become one of the leading centres of this study; and Carpenter visited it again in 1919, when he assisted at the International Conference for the History of Religions at Leyden.

His next published work, so far as I can discover, was an article in the *Hibbert Journal*, reproducing a lecture that had been given at Manchester College under the title 'How Japanese Buddhism appeals to a Christian Theist'. The exposition is popular and picturesque rather than critical and scientific; but he makes some interesting and valuable reflections in comparing and contrasting the two religions; and we note at the outset how he gives the watchword of the modern camp—'The Christian Theist does not claim an "absolute" character for his own religion, and for the same reason he will not allow it elsewhere.' He marks the gradual evolution of the Buddha from the historical person into the Eternal Father of the World, the only aspect of him that counted for the Japanese; and he notes the parallel evolution of Christ in our Christology. He then calls attention to a distinctive feature in the history of Japanese Buddhism, namely,

its adaptability to the life of the Samurai and to its taking on a militant character. Incongruous as this may seem to those who realize its original and essential teaching, it is not more so than the type of 'the Christian knight'. He then unfolds with much penetration the moral and religious aspects of the doctrine of 'karma', the law that 'whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap', a cosmic law that works of necessity without the help of any divine agency. And he notes the religious advantage of this belief, in that it relieves God from any responsibility for evil. How this contrasts with the Christian ideal, both as regards religion and morals, he is at pains to point out.

About the same time he published an address that he delivered in Manchester College on 'Christianity in the Light of Historical Science', in which he calls attention to the close parallels presented in other religions to some of the leading Christian dogmas, such as the virgin birth and the resurrection of the divinity; he finds these specially in the Greek mysteries and the legend of Attis; and he rightly emphasizes the striking resemblance between the legend of Asklepios and the story of the Gospels. The same theme is further developed in a lecture delivered in 1909, to the Glasgow University Society of St. Ninian on 'Christianity and Historical Science', the fourth in a series of lectures on 'Religion and the Modern World'.

These parallelisms are here delivered cursorily as interesting observations to audiences generally unfamiliar with them: they are not worked out with critical analysis, so as to gain their full scientific effect. Nevertheless, coming from a writer and speaker of such influence, they could not be without serious effect on educated religious opinion. For much of the strength of traditional orthodoxy has rested on the widespread belief that its dogmas and legends are wholly unique: and comparative study shows this to

be erroneous. Then, as our credulity refuses to believe a miraculous story when told of the Buddha, the doubt is likely to arise whether we must believe the same story or the same type of story when told of Christ.

He continued to pursue this interesting quest of parallels, and in 1912 contributed a paper to the *Studies in the History of Religions presented to Crawford Howell Toy* on 'Buddhist and Christian Parallels—the Mythological Background', a writing more directly comparative than any of his yet noticed; but the comparison is here rather between myths than between dogmas or religious ideals: thus he presents us with Indian-Mesopotamian counterparts to the story of Moses in the bulrushes, a Buddhist version—and a far more rational one—of 'the Judgment of Solomon'; or he briefly sketches the diffusion of the deluge-story from a Mesopotamian centre; he finds traces—not all equally clear—of the Hesiodic myth of the 'four ages' in Indian, Avestan, and Judaic legend; he shows reason for thinking that a cosmic myth of western Asia concerning the ultimate destruction of the earth by fire may have been suggestive to the cosmologic system of Herakleitos and later Greek philosophy. Finally he points out some salient points of contact between certain versions of the birth of Buddha with western descriptions of a divine birth, even with the very earliest of such stories that have come down to us in high literary form, namely, in the Homeric 'Hymn to Apollo', a work possibly of the eighth century B.C. This is a typical case for demanding a searching criticism of the methods of Comparative Folk-lore, to decide whether such similarities are more probably due to borrowing, or to diffusion of a myth from a single centre, or to the community of the human mind at a certain stage of culture, naturally working out similar motives on similar lines. Carpenter shows himself aware of these various modes

of interpreting the evidence and refrains from pronouncing positively; and he does not handle these questions as a specialist. But what gave significance to such dissertations as this at that date was that he should treat as material merely for Comparative Folklore certain stories which the religious world of the West at that time still regarded as the fundamental basis of their highest religion. That we can now see these things in their true perspective is due to the band of workers in Comparative Mythology with whom Carpenter linked himself, who effected this clearing of our vision.

By 1913 he had become sufficiently familiar with the methods, problems, and much of the *data* of Comparative Religion, so as to be able to compile a clear and useful handbook on the subject, valuable as an introduction to the student. In the earlier pages of this manual he shows himself fully cognizant of the importance of the growing science of anthropology, its methods and main lines of inquiry, though he had not had time for penetrating and critical study in it, and the higher religions interested him always more than the phenomena of the primitive. He gives us here a lucid sketch of the dawn of the science of Comparative Religion, to which, he points out, the growth of the doctrine of evolution made vital contribution. He regards Eusebius' *Praeparatio Evangelica* as the first work on the subject issued under the aegis of Christian theology; and his words on page 53 almost suggest an opinion that the early church was on the whole fair in its presentation of paganism. This would be something of a paradox; and it is hard to find either scientific exactness or criticism bearing on this theme in the works either of Eusebius or Clement of Alexandria; though we find them less intolerant and less vituperative than other Christian Fathers. He is on surer ground in determining Sir Edward Herbert

(1583–1648) to have been the pioneer of Comparative Religion as a possible study in our own country. He then gives us a clear statement of its problems, among which he would not include the problem of the origin of religion; and he proceeds to a luminous survey of the world religions, with a succinct account of the Mediterranean mysteries, a general account of prayer, including some discussion of its relations with magic; he rightly emphasizes the close association between early religion and morality; and closes with an interesting chapter on Immortality and Eschatologic Beliefs. The treatise has a biographical value, as attesting the wide range of his interests and studies at this time.

One of the most interesting of his papers or shorter writings appeared in *The Quest* of 1917—'Aspects of Theism in Hinduism and Judaism'. Most of this monograph is Comparative Religion pure and simple, namely, the comparing the ideas and spiritual values of two religions, without any question of affinity or reciprocal influence between them: and as between two such systems, that of Palestine and that of India, which, each in its own way, have had such deep and far-reaching effects on the spiritual history of man, a general illuminating comparison may be of great value for our mentality. He brings into vivid light the salient points of contrast, the contrast between the narrow intensity of the Hebraic soul and the Indian genius with its vast sweep through the realms of theological and cosmological speculation, but with a certain practical weakness and incoherence: the Hebraic view tends to be fixed on practice, the Hindu on speculation. He recognizes that Philo's speculations on the Deity approach nearer to Indian thought; but Philo's training was mainly Hellenic; and Carpenter's phrase (p. 378), 'Philo's Deity is but the Indian Brahman robed in Greek vesture', suggests the direct influence of Brahmanic metaphysic upon

the learned Jew of Alexandria: a legitimate hypothesis in view of the cosmopolitan character of that city. The monograph owes its value to the intimate knowledge that the writer possessed and displayed of two great religious systems and the spiritual sympathy, rarely found in one of definite religious faith, with two widely differing religious ideals.

In 1921 he brought out his most important and extensive work on Indian religion, titled 'Theism in Medieval India' (p. 542), a monument of learning and of philosophic and religious insight, written in lucid and attractive style. It is not composed on 'comparative' lines, and he seldom digresses into problems of Comparative Religion; but it furnishes very rich material to any student of the subject, and especially to the question that, as we may gather, mainly interested him, namely, the affinity and contrast between Indian and Christian religions and religious thought. Nor is the scope of the book limited to the Middle Ages; for in order to explain the medieval developments he has to track out the earlier stages down from the fountain-head. And the general reader will obtain more easily from this book than from most others on the subject a clear impression of the essential features of Indian mentality, often fascinating, often bizarre. The author's purpose is mainly objective, to give a clear exposition of the different phases of Indian thought in the different periods, with full explanatory comment rather than criticism or comparison. But as the speculations here set forth reveal the most varied and daring theosophy, and contain every conceivable conception of the Divine nature, attributes, and relation to the world and to mankind, the reader is excited by nearly every page to a vivid sense of contrast or affinity between the Eastern and the Western religions and religious philosophies. The value and interest of the book can best be shown by some salient examples.

Both Buddhism and Christianity are religions of redemption, and in both the redemption of mankind is undertaken by a divine man, whose divinity is original in our orthodoxy, of later growth in the oriental creed. But in the Buddhistic legend the High God Brahma has to humble himself and entreat Gotama to undertake this merciful but painful task (p. 27); and the Buddha's mode of salvation is to cure men of selfishness by teaching that they have no selves (p. 20). We feel at once the greatness of the gulf between the Eastern and the Western systems. And he gives us elsewhere opportunity of seeing why older Indian thought with its slighter interest in personality did not develop a powerful and abiding Theism: Brahman overshadowed the gods and was too abstract to be realized vividly as God; in the shifting elusiveness of Indian thought, God is at one time subordinated to the Absolute, at another resolved back into it: 'theism and pantheism alternately melt into one another' (p. 230).

In his account of the Indian Trimurti-group—the trinity of Vishnu, Brahman, and Çiva—he again gives the reader the impression of the dream-like fluidity of Indian thought, yielding us a dissolving view in which monotheism appears and disappears rather than a crystallized system; and he notes its parallelism to the dogma of the Christian Trinity (p. 275). He shows himself aware of the contrast between the nebulous profundity of the Eastern speculation and the clarity of Greek thought. The prevailing dogma of the illusion of the sense-world (Maya) increased the difficulties of Indian speculation concerning the nature of Reality and the Absolute; and, as Carpenter well says (p. 330), 'in all systems which bring in the Absolute, it is always possible to ask questions that cannot be answered'.

Apart from philosophic speculation, the book amply fulfils the promise of his title. He gives us a clear view

of the forces making for the emergence in the popular religion of the personal God: even Buddhism, which might be almost described in its origin as a godless system, comes to deify the Buddha and his successors. He gives us also some interesting examples of the evolution of a High God from cruder forms. And he helps the reader to discern the tangle of the influences working through the ages making for an unstable monotheism, the personality of the deities being fluid and blending easily with one another.

It is when he comes to the Middle Ages that he appears to have found his theme most congenial and his material most ample and attractive; for the centuries between the twelfth and the sixteenth were the period in India most productive of great prophets and inspired teachers. In his luminous and sympathetic expositions of the doctrines of Rāmâruja, Rāmânanda, Chaitanya, Kabir, and Nanak we hear the echoes of a great message proclaimed by men of exalted religious imagination and intuition: some of the literature that he quotes may be compared with the greatest of our Psalms, and we are often reminded of what is best in Christianity and most profound in later Hellenic philosophy. These pages enable us to appreciate the inspiration of Kabir, perhaps the greatest of a long line of prophets, the teacher who proclaimed the unity of man and almost succeeded in reconciling Moslem with Hindu, and the author of some of the great religious poetry of the world. They display India also as the home of great ideals and tragic failures, when we read of Akbar's noble attempt to raise his world into a tolerant monotheism which might absorb Hinduism and Moslemism. Most of these teachers proclaimed 'bhakti' or 'loving emotion' as the chief element of religion, and many of them insisted on the eternal individuality of the soul.

In elucidating and commemorating these vanishing

facts concerning the great soul-movements of the world, Carpenter found his true *métier*, and realized the hope that had carried him on throughout his long and far-reaching researches, the hope of new and fertile discoveries in the field of high religion, which could avail for the modern soul. The book is nevertheless historical-scientific. He does not 'propagandise', and rarely indulges in moral religious reflections. Nor does he often compare the Indian *data* with those of other cultures; and he is sane and cautious in using the hypothesis of borrowing. He is aware that Christian influences may have to be reckoned with in explaining the doctrines of some of the later religious sects of India. But in a note on p. 264 he discusses the question whether the much earlier Bhagavad Gita owed anything to the New Testament with sceptical caution, showing that he possessed the scientific spirit necessary for effectiveness in Comparative Religion.

The work then does not aim primarily at being comparative; but it offers rich material and is throughout most stimulating to the comparative student.

His last serious work in this field was published in 1923 on *Buddhism and Christianity—a contrast and a parallel*; an expansion of four 'Jowett' lectures that he was asked to deliver in 1922. The treatise is of deep interest; and, though he expounds his subject rather as the votary of high religion than as the follower of pure science, is an original contribution to the history and philosophy of religion. Few could write on the subject with such warm and sympathetic appreciation of the two great religious systems as Estlin Carpenter possessed. He is moved by the strangeness of the fact that two faiths so advanced and so spiritual should reveal such deep divergences, which he sets forth impressively: the Buddhist doctrine of Karma, a moral cosmic law explaining all evil and good and needing no God for its operation, Buddha's deliberate

abstention from preaching reliance on the Divine Power, his denial of permanent self-hood and of a divine Creator of the Universe, all this is in strong contrast with Christianity. And he marks certain salient differences in the history of the two: he puts in clear light the tolerance of Buddhism, its self-restraint in the refusal of civil power, its avoidance of Sacerdotalism, its purity from Pagan influences maintained by its rejection of Brahminical ritual; and without insistence he leaves in us the reflection how much darker and more troubled has been the history of Christendom in these matters.

On the other hand he finds numerous and interesting parallels. He discovers in Buddhism a certain doctrine of grace and election; and he compares the sacrifice of Christ with Buddha's temporary renunciation of complete Nirvana in order to achieve the salvation of the world. He seems at times inclined to award superiority to the Eastern creed for its vaster cosmic imagination, and its higher outlook in regard to the appropriateness of prayer and thanksgiving; but he always realizes the stronger appeal of Christianity through its vivid faith in a creative and all-powerful personal God and the eternity of the self.

But again he carefully restrains himself in this work from propagandism or controversy; nor does he draw out his comparisons in long detail. On the whole he presents a full and vivid picture and leaves us to draw our own comparisons. Nor does he appear to believe that one faith has at any time directly influenced the other; and on p. 179 he deals cautiously and critically with the theory that the miracle-lore of early Christianity has borrowed from Buddhist tradition.

The treatise shows that he had attained to that which was the goal of his studies, the discovery and penetration of a new spiritual realm of rich endowment for the religious imagination.

His work was highly estimated by Japanese scholars; and he maintained very friendly relations with Oriental teachers and theologians: the Bodleian possesses a letter published by him in 1917 addressing congratulations to Sasipada Banerjee, the founder of the Devalaya Association, with which, as it keeps an open door to all religious denominations, Estlin Carpenter warmly sympathized.

His interests and his influence were wider and deeper than those of the mere savant. He was pre-eminently a teacher and a spiritual guide; and his studies furnished his 'anima naturaliter christiana' with a rich spiritual experience, which, poured forth in his lectures and addresses, could stimulate and cast a spell upon his hearers.

A CLASSIFIED LIST OF THE CHIEF WRITINGS OF DR. J. ESTLIN CARPENTER

Compiled by Raymond V. Holt
Librarian of Manchester College, Oxford

The Items are arranged in this order:

Comparative Religion.
The Bible.
    The Old Testament.
    The New Testament.
History of Christianity.
Biographies and Memoirs.
Unitarianism.
Sunday School Lessons.
Hymns and Prayers.
Theology.
Sermons.
Social.

Items in each division are classified under Books, and under Lectures and Articles, and are arranged chronologically in each section.

COMPARATIVE RELIGION

Books

The Sumangala-Vilāsinī, Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Digha Nikāya. Ed. by T. W. Rhys Davids and J. Estlin Carpenter (Pali Text Society). London, printed for the Pali Text Society, 1886.

The Digha Nikāya, by T. W. Rhys Davids and J. Estlin Carpenter (Pali Text Society), vols. i, ii, iii. London, 1890 (on cover 1889), 1903, 1911. Vol. iii, by J. E. Carpenter alone, 1911.

The Place of Immortality in Religious Belief. A discourse.

Read in part at the National Conference at Sheffield, 1897. Printed in the *New World*, December 1897. Reprinted and enlarged in volume form. London 1898. Reprinted in *Studies in Theology*, by J. E. Carpenter and P. H. Wicksteed. London, 1903. Translated into Hungarian by Miklos Jozan, Budapest, 1901.

Oriental Philosophy and Religion. Reprinted from Baldwin's *Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology*, Oxford (privately printed), 1902.

The Place of Christianity among the Religions of the World. London, 1904; 2nd edition, 1911.

Comparative Religion (Home University Library). London [1913].

Theism in Medieval India. The Hibbert Lectures, 2nd Series. London, 1921.

Buddhism and Christianity. A Contrast and a Parallel (Library of Philosophy and Religion). London, 1923. Translated into Hungarian by Dr. Elek Kiss. Cluj (Kolozsvar), 1925. Translated into Japanese by Fumio Masutani, Tokio, 1928.

Lectures and Articles

Outlines of . . . Lectures. 1. History of Religion in India, 1883. 2. History of Ideas of Revelation, 1894. 3. History of Ideas of a Future Life, 1892. Printed for private circulation.

Three Ways of Salvation. An address delivered at the opening of the Session of Manchester New College, Oct. 1884. London, 1884. Reprinted in *Studies in Theology*, by J. E. Carpenter and P. H. Wicksteed, London, 1903.

The Most Virtuous King. A Buddhist Birth Story. In the *Christian Reformer*, i. 86 (Feb. 1886).

The Place of the History of Religion in Theological Study. An address delivered at Manchester New College, Oxford, Oct. 1890. London, 1890. Reprinted in *Studies in Theology*, by J. E. Carpenter and P. H. Wicksteed, London, 1903.

The Education of the Religious Imagination. An address delivered in Manchester College, Oxford, on 18 Oct. 1898. Manchester, 1898. Reprinted in *Studies in Theology*, by J. E. Carpenter and P. H. Wicksteed, London, 1903.

A Century of Comparative Religion, 1810–1910. Reprinted from *The Inquirer*.

Schools of Philosophy in India at the Time of the Rise of Buddhism. Synopsis of Paper read on 12 March, 1903, in *Abstract of Proceedings*, *Society of Historical Theology*, Oxford, 1902–3.

The Passage of Buddhism from a System of Ethical Culture to an Idealistic Theism. Presidential address to the Society of Historical Theology, Oxford, 27 Oct. 1904. In the *Abstract of Proceedings*, p. 5.

How Japanese Buddhism appeals to a Christian Theist. *Hibbert Journal*, iv. 503 (April 1906).

Buddhist and Christian Parallels. The Mythological Background. In *Studies in the History of Religions presented to Crawford Howell Toy*. Also separately printed. Also in Synopsis in the *Abstract of Proceedings*, *Society of Historical Theology*, Oxford, 1910–11. (Read 9 Feb. 1911.)

Religion in the Far East, or Salvation by Faith: a Study in Japanese Buddhism. *The Quest*, i. 460 and 649, April and July, 1910.

The Sikh Religion. *Hibbert Journal*, x. 201 (Oct. 1911).

The Opportunity of the East. Address delivered at Essex Hall, London, 25 Jan. 1912. Reprinted in *Christian Commonwealth Supplement*.

Buddhist Doctrine of Salvation. *Hibbert Journal*, xi. 497 (April 1913).

An Ancient Buddhist University. *Hibbert Journal*, xiii. 175 (October 1914).

Aspects of Theism in Hinduism and Judaism. A parallel and a Contract. *The Quest*, vol. viii. 370 (April 1917).

Saints and Philosophers among the Tamil Caves. *Hibbert Journal*, xviii. 470 (April 1920).

Chaitanya, an Indian St. Francis. *Hibbert Journal*, xix. 666 (July 1921).

Early Conceptions of Law in Nature. *Hibbert Journal*, xxi. 711 (July 1923).

World Ethics and the Common Good. *The Quest*, vol. xv. 145 (June 1924).

THE BIBLE

Book

The Bible in the Nineteenth Century. Eight Lectures. London, 1903.

Lecture

The Bible. A lecture delivered in London, March and April, 1881, published in *Ten Lectures on the Positive Aspects of Unitarian Thought and Doctrine*, with a Preface by James Martineau. London, n.d.; 4th edition [1894].

The Old Testament

Books

G. H. A. von Ewald. Vols. iii to v. The History of Israel . . . Translated from the German and edited by J. E. Carpenter, 1871 ff. Vols. iii and iv, 2nd edition, London, 1878.

C. P. Tiele. Outlines of the History of Religion to the Spread of the Universal Religions. Translated from the Dutch by J. E. Carpenter. London, 1877.

The Hexateuch according to the Revised Version, arranged in its constituent documents by members of the Society of Historical Theology, Oxford. Edited with Introduction, Notes, Marginal References, and Synoptical Tables, by J Estlin Carpenter and G. Harford Battersby. 2 vols. Vol. i, Introduction and Tabular Appendices. Vol. ii, Text and Notes. London, 1900.

Vol. i of the above printed separately, with additions, under the title: The Composition of the Hexateuch, an Introduction with select Lists of Words and Phrases, by J. Estlin Carpenter, and an appendix on Laws and Institutions by George Harford. London, 1902.

Lectures and Articles

Professor Kuenen on the Hexateuch. *The Christian Reformer*, ii. 171 (September 1886).

Outlines of the History of the Literature and Religion of Israel. Printed for private circulation. October 1888.

Note on Exodus iii. 16. *Society of Historical Theology*. Oxford, 1892–3, p. 21.

The New Testament

Books

Life in Palestine when Jesus lived. A short handbook to the First Three Gospels. March 1884. Reprinted 1884, 1889. New edition 1893. Reprinted 1899, 1905, 1908, 1911, 1912, 1918. London.

The First Three Gospels, their origins and relations. 1st edition, Feb. 1890. 2nd edition, Sept. 1890. 3rd edition, 1904. 4th edition, 2nd impression, and 6th printing, 1909. London.

—— Translated into Dutch: De eerste drie Evangelien naar het Engelsch door E. C. Knappert. Met eine vorrede van H. Oort, Nijmegen [1892].

The Relation of Jesus to His Age and Our Own. The Essex Hall Lecture, 1895. London, 1895. Reprinted in *Studies in Theology*, by J. E. Carpenter and P. H. Wicksteed, London, 1903.

The Historical Jesus and the Theological Christ. London, 1911.

The Johannine Writings. A Study of the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel. London, 1927.

Lectures and Articles

Did Jesus claim to be the Messiah? In the *Unitarian Review* (Boston, U.S.A.), vol. xxxvi. 85 (August 1891).

The Jesus of the Gospels and the Jesus of History. In Mc Quaker Lectures, 1892. London. Also printed in *The Faith of a Free Church, and other Essays*, 1907. Ed. by S. M. Crothers.

Note on Mark ix. 12, 13. *Society of Historical Theology.* Oxford, 1892–3, p. 54.

Paul. By Prof. W. Wrede. Translated by Edward Lummis, with Preface by J. Estlin Carpenter. London, 1907.

Jesus or Christ? *Hibbert Journal*, Supplement, 1909, p. 225. London, 1909.

Astrology in the Book of Revelation. *Hibbert Journal*, xxiii. 733 (July 1925).

HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY

Book

Phases of Early Christianity. *American Lectures on the History of Religions*, vol. xii. New York, 1916.

Lectures and Articles

The Church of England during the Middle Ages. An address. London, 1880.

Phases of Early Christianity. Seven Articles in the *Christian Reformer*, 1887. I. Apostles, vol. iii. 217; II. Prophets, vol. iii. 257; III. The New Prophecy, vol. iii. 321; IV. The Organization of Teaching, vol. iv; V. The Christian Priesthood, vol. iv. 220; VI. Baptism, vol. iv. 257; VII. The Eucharist, vol. iv. 321.

Recent English study of the origins of Christianity. Actes du 3me Congrès international du Christianisme libéral et progressif, p. 130. Genève, 1905.

Christianity in the Light of Historical Science. An address delivered [at Manchester College, Oxford] at the opening of the 120th session, Oct. 1905. Manchester, 1905.

Christianity and Historical Science. An address . . . before the Glasgow University Society of St. Ninian, 9 Dec. 1908. Printed in *Religion and the Modern World*. London, 1909.

Christianity in the Light of Religious Experience. An address at Manchester College, Oxford, 1906. Manchester, 1906.

The Hermetica : Their Religious Significance. *Hibbert Journal*, xxv. 523 (April 1927).

BIOGRAPHIES

Books

The Life and Work of Mary Carpenter. London, 1879.

James Martineau, Theologian and Teacher. A study of his Life and Thought. London, 1905.

Memoirs and Addresses

Discourses by the late C. J. Perry, delivered in Hope Street Church, Liverpool. Ed. by R. A. Armstrong, with a Memoir by the editor and a Funeral Sermon by J. Estlin Carpenter. Liverpool, 1884.

Nature and Man. Essays Scientific and Philosophical. By William Benjamin Carpenter. With Introductory Memoir by J. Estlin Carpenter. London, 1888.

A memorial of the late W. M. Ainsworth, being a selection of his Sermons, Prayers, and letters of travel, edited with a memoir by Rev. J. Harwood, to which are added memorial addresses by the editor and J. Estlin Carpenter. London, 1891.

Personal and Social Christianity. Sermons and addresses by the late R. L. Carpenter. With a memoir by Frances E. Cooke. Edited by J. Estlin Carpenter. London, 1893.

Theodore Parker Broadbent. Thirteen sermons. With a Prefatory note by J. Estlin Carpenter. London, 1895.

UNITARIANISM

Books (see also *Biographies*)

Unitarianism, an Historic Survey. Reprinted from the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (1921). London, 1922.

Freedom and Truth. Modern views of Unitarian Christianity. Edited with an Introduction by J. Estlin Carpenter. London, 1925.

Lectures and Articles

The Founders of Nonconformity in Leeds, published in *The Christian Reformer*, i. 337 (June 1886).

The Witness of our Nonconformity: A Sermon . . . at the Bicentenary of the Old Mill Hill Chapel [Leeds], 1673. London, 1873.

International Council of Unitarian and other Liberal Religious Thinkers. The President's Address. On the Liberal Faith. Printed in *Liberal Religious Thought at the beginning of the Twentieth Century*, London, 1901. Reprinted in *Studies in Theology*, by J. E. Carpenter and P. H. Wicksteed. London, 1903.

What Religious Liberals of Great Britain owe to the Religious Life and Theological Science of Germany. Berlin, 1910. The substance of this paper was read at the Berlin Fifth International Congress, August 1910. Printed as a

pamphlet under the title of 'The Developments of Liberal Theology in England', and in the volume *The Religion of the Future*, p. 211. London, 1911.

Oakfield Road Church, Clifton. Jubilee Celebration . . . Commemorative Address . . . 4 October 1916.

SUNDAY SCHOOL LESSONS AND ADDRESSES

(see also *Bible*)

In the Sunday School Teachers' Manual

Vol. i. 1872. Lessons on Old Testament Stories, pp. 47, 85, 121.

" ii. 1873. Lessons on Old Testament Stories, pp. 13, 51, 92.

" iii. 1874. Physical Geography of Palestine, pp. 74, 110, 151.

" iv. 1875. The Romans in Palestine, pp. 23, 54.

In Teachers' Notes for Moral and Religious Lessons

John the Baptist. Jan. 1882.

Life in Palestine in the days when Jesus lived. Jan. 1884. Reprinted with changes in *Life in Palestine when Jesus lived.*

In The Sunday School Helper

A letter to Teachers, p. 25, vol. i. 1885.

'Lessons on the Ministry of Jesus.' Forty-eight Lessons, pp. 14, 38, 60, 85, 104, 132, 159, 180, 205, 228, 251, 278.

Vol. ii (1886). 'Lessons on the Ministry of Jesus,' pp. 18, 33, 66, 89, 112, 132, 161, 182, 275.

Vol. iii (1887). [Old Testament.]
Stories of Creation, p. 197.
Stories of the Beginning of Evil, p. 221.
Two Hebrew Stories of the Flood, p. 250.
Other Stories of the Flood, p. 265.

Vol. v (1889). About the Old Testament, pp. 13, 26, 84, 126, 250.

Vol. vi (1890). About the Old Testament, pp. 11, 49, 78, 121, 154.

Vol. x (1894). Growth of Ideas about the Person of Jesus in

the New Testament, pp. 121, 150, 169, 196, 224, 241, 268.

Year 1898. Moses and Zoroaster, p. 48.

Year 1899. The Sunday School and the Home, p. 3.

Year 1900. How the Old Testament grew, p. 197.
Passages from Address, p. 262.

HYMNS AND PRAYERS

Part of the Second Order of Worship in *Seven Services for Public Worship*. Ed. by W. C. Bowie. London, 1890.

Hymns for use in Manchester College, Oxford. [Preface signed 'J. E. C.'] Oxford, 1894.

Hymn No. 482, 'Eternal God, whose Changeless Will', *Hymns of Worship*. London, 1927.

Prayers in Public Worship and in College Chapel (ed. by V. D. Davis). London, 1927.

THEOLOGY

Studies in Theology. By J. Estlin Carpenter and P. H. Wicksteed, London, 1903, contains reprints of these seven Lectures in this order:

The Education of the Religious Imagination. 1898.
The Place of Immortality in Religious Belief. 1897.
The Place of the History of Religion in Theological Study. 1890.
Three Ways of Salvation. 1884.
The Liberal Faith. 1901.
The Relation of Jesus to His Age and Our Own. 1905.
The Study of Theology and the Service of Man. 1887.

The Study of Theology and the Service of Man. An address at Manchester New College, 1887. Manchester, 1887. Reprinted in *Theology and Piety alike Free*. London, 1890, and in *Studies in Theology*, by J. E. Carpenter and P. H. Wicksteed. London, 1903.

Endeavours after the Christian Life . . . with an Introduction by J. Estlin Carpenter (The New Universal Library). London and New York [1907].

Worship. *Theistic Endeavour Tract*, No. 8, Oct. 1914. Madras.

The Theology of the Rev. Stopford Brooke. *Hibbert Journal*, xv. 56 (Oct. 1916).

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SERMONS

Dedication Service at Monton Church . . . The Address. 18 March 1883. Manchester.

The Old Temple and the New (a Sermon). (*Modern Sermons*, vol. ii, no. 39.) Manchester [1886].

All Things are Yours. A sermon . . . at the Annual Meeting of the [British and Foreign Unitarian] Association, 23 May 1888.

Life and Peace in the Spirit. [A Sermon.] Printed in the *Essex Hall Pulpit*, and in *The Verities of Religion*, Twelve Sermons, edited by W. C. Bowie. London, 1894.

Things New and Old. Sermon preached . . . at the Anniversary Meetings of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, 2 June 1909. Also printed in a volume *Things New and Old*. London, 1910.

Worship in Spirit and in Truth. A sermon preached at . . . Torquay, 10 Dec. 1912. Printed for private circulation.

Bearing the Cross. Sermons of the Church of the Saviour. Brooklyn, n.d.

The Husbandry of Heaven. A sermon preached in University Hall, London, at the closing service of . . . Little Portland Street Chapel on 29 December 1918. London, 1918.

The Truth Spirit. A sermon at Manchester College, Oxford, 21 May 1922. London.

Fellow Workers with God. A sermon preached at Cambridge on 24 Oct. 1926. London.

SOCIAL

The University and the Training of the Social Worker. An address at the University of Liverpool . . . 10 Nov. 1911.

The Promotion of International Peace through Universities. A paper read at the 8th National Peace Congress, Westminster, 1912. (National Peace Council, Educational Series, no. 6.) London, 1912.

Ethical and Religious Problems of the War. Edited by J. Estlin Carpenter. Article on 'Aspects of Fatherhood'. London, 1916.

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